FACULTY OF COMMERCE, HUMAN SCIENCES AND EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION

A COMPARATIVE CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF AFFIRMATIVE REPOSITIONING AND POPULAR DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT YOUTH LEAGUE POSITION PAPERS ON YOUTH EMPOWERMENT

BY

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THESIS PRESENTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ENGLISH AND APPLIED LINGUISTICS AT THE NAMIBIA UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (NUST)

SUPERVISOR: DR MAX MHENE

April 2023

ABSTRACT

This study focused on critical discourse analysis in the position papers issued by the Affirmative Repositioning Movement (AR) and Popular Democratic Movement Youth League (PDMYL). Specifically, the study examined language use relating to youth empowerment issues. The overall objective of this research was to study the implications of language use by AR and PDMYL, including an attempt to understand their ideological stance. To achieve this overall objective, the study addressed the following specific objectives; to analyse the textual presentation of the two political formations, to describe how nominalisation and passivation are utilised in the textual presentation by the two formations and also to determine political rhetoric strategies dominantly used by the two political formations to maintain their narrative in the public domain. This was a qualitative study that adopted a constructivist worldview. As a desktop study, a case study design was used. The study population comprised position papers issued in the public domain by the two formations, and a sample consisting of ten (10) press releases was drawn, with five (5) from each. The statements were analysed at the sentence and syntax levels, looking at the semantic context of each sentence.

The analysis of the first objective indicates that AR has used illocutionary act type consisting of Assertives, Commissives and Expressives. The least utilised illocutionary act type is Declaratives. In comparison, the majority of the PDMYL statements comprise Assertives, Directives, and Commissives. Similar to AR, the least used type of illocutionary act is the Declaratives.

For the second objective, the results revealed that PDMYL was found to have used nominalisation in most instances than AR. However, with passivisation, the study showed that AR had utilised more passivised forms than PDMYL.

Lastly, the dominant rhetoric strategies used by AR include praises, attacks and criticisms and inclusive language. Other strategies included emotional appeal and general metaphors. As for PDMYL, the results showed that it utilised attacks and criticisms, praises and evidence.

The study made recommendations based on the outcome of the results, emphasising the need to use contemporary terminologies and language that is in keeping with the youth and the utilisation of less nominalised and passivised forms so that political promises are direct and easily accountable.

Declaration of original work

I, **Vilho Mweneni Endjala**, hereby declare that the work contained in the thesis, entitled; **A comparative Critical Discourse Analysis of Affirmative Repositioning and Popular Democratic Movement Youth League position papers on youth empowerment**, is my own original work and that I have not previously, in its entirety or in part, submitted it at any university or other higher education institution for the award of a degree.

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It is certified that the thesis titled, **A comparative Critical Discourse Analysis of Affirmative Repositioning and Popular Democratic Movement Youth League position papers on youth empowerment** submitted by **Vilho Mweneni Endjala** towards partial fulfilment of the Master of English and Applied Linguistics degree, is based on the investigation carried out under our guidance. The thesis has therefore not been submitted for academic award at any other university or academic institution.

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my dear wife, Tuwilika Endjala (PhD), who has pushed me into the pursuit of Level 9 since day one. For that, she remains my personal proverb. As for my children, I hope one day when they are grown, they will see why I stayed up.

Acknowledgements

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Keywords

Text, nominalisation, passivisation, illocutionary, rhetoric,

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

According to the AU report on Youth Development (2021), Africa is home to the highest youthful population elsewhere in the world, with an estimated more than 400 million young people in the age brackets of 15 to 35 years. Despite this numeric representation of youth on the African continent, there is no evident representation and active participation of youth in social and geo-political issues to reflect the surge in the youthful populace. As reflected in Mengistu (2017), Africa is still in the early stages of democracy and given that its political institutions are not yet entirely developed, it is noted that the "youth are excluded from important decision-making processes" (p. 1)

Reflecting on this, Enaifoghe (as cited in Enaifoghe and Dlamini, 2021), have noted that the continent has a prevalent habit of overlooking the youth regarding political appointment and participation is concerned. In the views of the two scholars, this has not only fuelled the discontentment amongst the youth populace but has triggered the recent upsurge in political activism we are witnessing today.

As would be expected, a youthful population is a vibrant demography. From afar, it could be observed that the youth are attempting to be as active in the political domain; however, as explained by Mengistu (2017), the way majority of governments on the continent and the political establishments "approach them is non-inviting" (p. 2). In this context, Mengistu (2017) continued that the term youth is used within the contextual definition as provided by the African Youth Charter, which refers to the youth or young people as people who are aged between 15 and 35 years.

This rampant marginalisation of youth in active and meaningful participation in political activities to bring about positive social change and better the lives of young people has had notable repercussions on the lives of the youth on the continent. In South Africa, for example, by as of 2011, the youth population was over 10 million, making up 19% of the total population (De Lannoy et al., 2018, as cited in Barnes, 2021). Given the complexities and segregation dynamics of South Africa as a country, Barnes (2021) has observed that by comparison, those who are at the end of the low-income measure are strongly associated with one race, blacks. This, Barnes (2021) noted, meant that "in 2011, 69% of black youth and 46% of brown youth were living below the poverty line (De Lannoy et al., 2018, as cited in Barnes, 2021, p. 2). This not

only demonstrates the inequality that exists, but it also highlights the scourge of social problems that are facing the youth on the continent, as varied in different countries. Across the continent, youth are facing myriads of challenges that, in the end, make them susceptible to seeing radicalism as the only way to get the authorities to pay attention to their plight. Challenges such as unemployment and limited or lack of opportunities to access education, health care facilities, and training opportunities are but some of the major challenges that are facing the youth on the continent. In one of the scholarly submissions, it was noted that "tension seems to arise because young people are commonly viewed as not yet ready for active participation in civic life" (Kelly, 2011, as cited in Enaifoghe & Dlamini, 2021). To illustrate this, the Arab Spring of 2011 events that catapulted from Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Algeria, and Yemen and swept across the Arab nations is but one of the resultant depictions of discontentment from the youth on the African continent.

In earnest, aristocracy and gerontocracy rather than meritocracy have dominated the political arena of most African countries. For a continent that is noted to have a youthful population, this meant that the aspirations, wishes and futuristic ambitions of the young people are not carried in the messages and promises relayed on politicians' platforms. Instead, the continent's youth are perceived as a threat to the stability of democracy or too ambitious than their abilities. Thus, to suppress the ambitions and keep the youth with the constant belief that their time to participate fully in meaningful political activities, politicians use language to implant the belief that the future belongs to the youth and that their time is not yet for the present. Over the years, politicians on the continent of Africa have continually inherited this belief and notion of the futuristic participation of youth in politics. Thus, Enaifoghe and Dlamini (2021) have argued that the political language used by most politicians presupposes that the period of being a youth should be understood to primarily be about growing into a particular sociological sphere. This is how Kelly as cited in Enaifoghe and Dlamini, 2021, p. 216) described this phase as "becoming an adult, becoming a citizen, becoming independent, becoming autonomous, becoming mature and becoming responsible".

Whereas there are those countries on the continent that are making commendable strides on issues and youth involvement in social and political domains, there is still a notable absence of political will from a large quota of the member states. This is all while it is noted that one of the biggest problems faced by the youth on the continent is unemployment. With this reality, Mathia (2019) has indicated in her scholarly thesis on challenges and opportunities facing the African youth that the General Assembly (GA) of the African Union (AU) had by August 2008, already adopted and launched the African Youth Charter

(AYC) in Banjul, Gambia. The principal purpose of this charter was to highlight the key areas that need short, medium, and long-term practical interventions to address challenges faced by the youth and create enabling policy framework for countries that have ratified it. Sadly, by 2019, not more than 37 of 53 countries have signed the AYC. This is indicative of the hesitancy that African leaders have towards empowering the youth so that they are ready to take over the reins. Despite the presence of the AYC, an estimated 130 million youth are predicted to be analphabets and others neo-literate. This is a recipe for poverty, as noted by Mathia (2019), that poverty amongst the youth is triple more than that found in the adults. Hence, the issue of youth empowerment in Africa should be a key driver of any country's agenda.

As found in the report by the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA, 2022, para. 2) on challenges that hinder youth empowerment and how to overcome them, the applicable definition of youth empowerment is confined to the deliberate effort to put youth issues high on the national agenda of any country and the direct involvement of the youth in the decision-making initiatives. This, according to the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA, 2022, para. 3), includes understanding the youth challenges, consulting the youth on probable solutions, and producing specific strategies to alleviate the risks whilst stimulating development to enable the youth to thrive.

Namibia, like the majority of African countries, is equally plagued with youth empowerment issues despite having ratified the AYC. Following the inauguration of Namibia's third president in 2015, the political tone of the country has continued to be accommodative of democratic principles and the rule of law. This includes the right to affiliate oneself with a political party or to hold different views politically. Namibia, like other African countries under democratic governments of former liberation movements, South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo), the former liberation movement, has been at the helm of the government since independence in 1990. Until the 2014 national and presidential elections, the ruling party, Swapo, won the election with a staggering 80% of the total votes, as stated in Bayer (2017). This, according to Bayer (2017), represented the biggest winning margin the ruling party has ever garnered in the election and thus is illustrative of its political domination in Namibia.

In a comparison made between Namibia and South Africa, Bayer (2017) continued to highlight that "dominant party cohesion and dominance can be challenged when marginalised minority factions within the party feel confident of their mobilisation capacity" (p. 33). One such faction that emerged from within the ruling party is Affirmative Repositioning Movement (AR). As a new movement, AR, as can be related

in Mwilima and Matali (2018), "is a youth-driven movement which has put immense pressure on the Government of Namibia to make access to land to the Namibian youth imperative" (p. 49). According to Mwilima and Matali (2018), AR was established in 2014 with the prime purpose of rallying Namibian youth to call for access to urban land.

Ammann (2018) shared the above notion and proceeded to assert that "the persistent and growing land and housing shortage led to the emergence of a new militant movement called Affirmative Repositioning in 2014" (p. 170). Ammann (2018) further maintained that AR rhetoric "has been openly hostile to the established political elite, with a mixture of radical socialist and Pan-African themes" (p.170). This description of AR seems to resonate with many observers, with Becker (2016) describing AR formation as the movement that "epitomizes Namibia's Fanonian moment; yet it has also come to embody the new hope, which many among the youth associate with the new dispensation under Geingob" (p. 3).

Whilst AR only came into being in 2014, the official opposition party, then known as Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) until 2014, has existed in Namibia's political landscape since 1977. DTA, now known as Popular Democratic Movement (PDM), was founded in 1977 as a coalition of 11 parties based on ethnic lineage, which included NUDO and the Republican Party that broke off their alliance following their walkout of "the Turnhalle constitutional talks after South Africa's National Party had demanded the retention of some apartheid legislation" (LeBeau, 2005, p. 7).

Lebeau and Dima (2006) illustrated that in 1989, DTA had secured 21 out of possible 72 seats from the first-ever Constitutional Assembly elections in Namibia. Since then, it has retained the status of being the official opposition party, even though its backing from the electorates has been dwindling with time. This was evident in the 2009 national and presidential election when DTA lost the official party status to the Rally for Democracy and Progress (RDP) party. Since independence, the participation of youth in politics has been on the increase. Recognising this willingness, different political parties, as noted by Lebeau and Dima (2006) have found an innovative way to refer to the youth involvement within their party set using various terms that befit the ideological stance of that party. This means that parties have adopted various terminologies to refer to youth involvement in politics under different party banners, for example; the Young Democrats from Congress of Democrats (CoD), Youth League for parties such as South SWAPO, PDM and the Youth Wing from United Democratic Front (UDF). While this youth participation is distinguished by different distinct terminologies, the question remains as to how they use the language to captivate and lure the following from the emerging generation of young people.

Therefore, it is out of this curiosity that the researcher embarked on a research that focused on how the AR movement and PDM Youth League (PDMYL) use language as a tool to garner support from the youth. The study focused on this aspect of language by applying a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) on the position papers issued by AR and PDM Youth League on various issues relating to youth empowerment. It is prudent to indicate that within the context of this study, the concept position paper is broadly used as a preferred terminology for press statements. This emanates from the fact that the AR movement uses social media platforms (Facebook and Twitter) to distribute their issued statement. This is slightly different from PDMYL, which in addition to social media platforms (Facebook, Twitter), engages print media to spread the reach of their issued statements. On this basis, the context in which the term position paper is utilised in this study simply implies press statements issued by the AR movement and PDMYL.

As was noted in the context of this study, a position paper is simply a form of communication between the formation in a political domain and the followers. Thus, any form of written communication used by those in the political arena, including those from the two formations (AR and PDMYL), was regarded in this study as a text. These included position papers (press statements), speeches, flyers, and any other written material that may contain textual communication that was referred to in this study.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Since independence, the Namibian political landscape has been characterised by a multi-party democracy. This democratic system has enabled the co-existence of political parties and movements wherein there is a ruling party (Swapo) and other political parties that are referred to as opposition parties. Popular Democratic Movement (PDM) is one of the opposition parties in the current presidential term (2020 - 2024) and serves as an official opposition party. Characteristically, PDM has its youth wing (known as Youth League) that represents the views and aspirations of its youthful electorates. Unlike in many other parts of the African continent, Namibia is renowned for upholding the constitutional rights and freedoms of every citizen, regardless of political affiliation. This was illustrated as recently as 2014, a new movement called Affirmative Repositioning (AR) movement emerged. This movement, AR, predominantly formed by the expelled former Swapo Youth League members, was premised on the notion of exerting pressure on the ruling party on the fulfilment of political promises made to the electorates, mainly the land.

As a newly established movement in Namibia, AR has resonated reasonably with youthful followers, as is widely reported by the print media. Its appearance on the political scene where other youth wings of different political parties already existed has prompted a compelling scenario comparable in competition

for the youthful voters and the subsequent continuing appeal and remaining relevant to the youth. Furthermore, from its founding principles, the AR movement was established to be a movement for the youth that focuses primarily on addressing youth issues by positioning itself as the representative voice of all the youth, regardless of the current political affiliations.

The entrance of the AR movement into the space where there were already established multiple youth wings, such as the Popular Democratic Movement Youth League (PDMYL), whose formations were equally premised on the representation of the ideals and aspirations of the Namibian youth, can be one of the confusing elements. This is deemed so because the majority of the youth are already faced with myriads of social challenges, and it would be deemed very difficult to convince them that this new entrant will be any different and is worth a following. On that basis, the researcher felt it would make a befitting comparison between AR with one of the already established youth wings, namely, PDMYL, on how the two formations use language as a tool to lure and appeal to their followers. To do this, the researcher conducted a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) on the use of language by these two formations (PDMYL and AR) on how their presentation of issues relating to youth empowerment, with a specific focus on the dominant speech acts employed, rhetoric strategies, nominalisation and passivisation. This investigation was necessary as it was anticipated to shed clarity on contradicting political messages that often confuse the public and how distinct are the two formations in terms of language use.

1.3 Research Objectives

The overall objective of this research was to study the implications of language use by the two political formations by attempting to understand the ideological stance of each of these two political formations. To achieve this overall objective, this research focused on the three following specific objectives:

1. Analyse the textual presentation of the two political formations
2. Describe how nominalisation and passivation are utilised in the textual presentation by the two formations.
3. Determine political rhetoric strategies dominantly used by the two political formations to maintain their narrative in the public domain

1.4 Significance of the Study

By carrying a comparative CDA on the two political formations (AR and PDM Youth League) use of language on issues that relate to youth empowerment, it was anticipated that this comparative analysis would provide an understanding of how the two, AR and PDM Youth League, use language to persuade youth in Namibia to support their individual party's agenda. Similarly, this study was expected to contribute to the understanding of how language is locally used to influence the youth, dominate and redirect their views whilst simultaneously inducing their interest to generally participate in public discourse with enthusiasm on issues that go beyond youth empowerment. Furthermore, the findings from this study are expected to shape how political players will make use of the language in the future, especially that 60% of Namibia's population comprises youth.

1.5 Delimitation of the Study

In carrying out this research, the researcher was confined to the scope of the objectives which invariably limit the researcher to issues as presented in the research objectives. Furthermore, this research only explored the use of language and was confined to a single data analysis method, namely; content analysis of public documents through the use of a checklist as a data collection tool.

1.6 Limitations of the Study

Although there are numerous political parties in the country, this study was limited to two political formations only, namely, AR and PDM Youth League. These two formations were chosen on the basis that AR is a youth movement that is not affiliated with any active and registered political party, whilst PDMYL is a youth wing that is affiliated with an active and current official opposition party. However, there is a chance that these two formations may not have expressed and documented their positions and stance on similar issues relating to youth to enable direct comparison. As far as literature is concerned, there appears to be a reasonable interest amongst scholars to study the dynamics of AR more in comparison to PDMYL; hence, there is an expected constraint on the availability of scholarly material on PDMYL and its functions thereof in the public domain. Furthermore, the analysis of this study was limited to specific aspects of the study objectives as the research was going to be broad and tedious to include all aspects emanating from the research objectives.

1.7 Definition of Key Terms

Critical Discourse Analysis – This is a branch of linguistics that "goes beyond the description of discourse to an explanation of how and why particular discourse is produced" (Teo, 2000, p, 11, as cited in Söğüt, 2018).

Rhetoric - The language of persuading another person's conviction into a certain perspective. (Amakali, 2018)

Nominalisation is a distinct practice that can be used to indicate the methods "as things rather than actual happenings" (Mwiinga & Simwinga, 2020, p. 78).

Passivation – A strategy to present information in a way that the agent who has acted on a verb is deliberately omitted. (Ali & Bustam, 2020)

Public documents - A document of public interest issued or published by a political body or otherwise connected with public business. (https://www.legal-lingo.net/public-document-2/)

Speech act - the act performed by a speaker with an utterance (Yule, 1997, p. 132)

Position paper – This refers to a position or stance towards an event taken by a specific formation through an issued written statement that is made available through the press or social media platforms.

1.8 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, the researcher has highlighted a broader background to the study on the myriads of social issues faced by the youth in general on the African continent. The chapter further painted the plight of the youth when they are continuously excluded from political activities and at key positions, how they are deemed not ready to take over the reins and how this frustrates the youth into radicalism that transforms into rebellion in some instances. The chapter also contextualises how this fits in the Namibian context, the formation of the AR movement and how AR makes a befitting variable to be contrasted with PDMYL in terms of language use. This chapter further deals with the statement of the problem by laying down how the use of language can have a multitude of interpretations and how these were used to lure followers to the AR movement and PDMYL. In addition, the chapter provided the significance of the problem by highlighting how the results from this study will greatly enhance the understanding of how locally, language can be used to reach the majority of youth. This chapter equally dealt with the delimitation of this study in that the study was confined to content analysis and that the scope of the study is premised on the stated objectives. Lastly, this chapter foregrounded the limitation of the study that the two formations may not have issued press statements on similar issues.

Chapter Two

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

1. Introduction

This chapter introduces some of the literature related to this study. It expands on how AR and PDMYL, as entities within the political space, use political language in the public domain. The chapter further posits how analysis of political language can be done in the context of critical discourse analysis framework and how speech acts can be analysed for their underlying meanings. Equally, the chapter orientated the two linguistic features, namely, nominalisation and passivisation, in the existing literature and how these were used by politicians to relay their messages to their audience. The chapter concluded with an attempt to determine the dominant rhetoric strategies used by AR and PDMYL.

2.1 Literature Review

The interpretation by Hashim (2015) of political language indicates that it is primarily concerned with using influence to redirect the general population's thoughts and perceptions. This, in general, has been the strength that has been exploited optimally by those in power who are aware of the influence that language use has on people. Thus, Hashim (2015) summarised that "it [political language] is an instrument used to control the society in general" (p. 699). In this context, Akinwotu (2013) has argued that political discourse is a sophisticated human phenomenon that merits thorough learning as it is vital "in the organisation and management of society" (p. 43).

On the above basis, the two political formations (AR and PDMYL) chosen by the researcher for this study are units of analysis that profusely use language that can be classified as political language. As it would be noted, the major strength and weakness of any political formation lie in how successfully it uses the language. In one of their Facebook posts, AR has captured its ideology in the following posting on their official page "Affirmative Repositioning (AR) ideology is concerned with the transfer of power from the minority to the majority" (Affirmative Repositioning, 2020). It can further be read from the same posting that "the cardinal objective [of AR] is the transfer of power from the ruling class to the working class through democratic means" (Affirmative Repositioning, 2020). In many ways, this has been the stance of AR since its establishment in 2014 and therefore forms part of the reasons why the researcher found it befitting to study its language usage in comparison to that of PDM YL, as the official opposition party's youth wing.

To set an understanding of the use of political language; one way that can be used is through the application of CDA. To put this in context, it is prudent to note that the major focus of CDA, as noted by Sharififar and Rahimi (2015), "is public speech, such as political speeches, advertisement, newspaper, official documents and so on" (p. 343). These scholars, Sharififar and Rahimi (2015), further noted that CDA's purpose is to study the association between the language itself, the assumed ideology and the subsequent power that comes with the usage.

Whereas this is true, Salayo (2020) has highlighted that although CDA does not align itself to any "particular school of thought" (Wodak and Meyer, 2001, cited in Norgaard, Montoro and Busse, 2010, p. 70), it can be stated that Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) of Halliday is the most appropriate method to CDA. This is because SFG is aligned towards a perspective that is contextual, standard, and socio-political, which can be obtained via its three main approaches: textual, interpersonal, and ideational. Thus, (van Leeuwen, 2006, cited in Norgaard, Montoro and Busse, 2010) asserted that the three main language functions are key tenets for CDA to achieve the purpose; that is, to study the discourse's underpinning ideologies. Therefore, by using SFG as an overall guiding theoretical framework, the three metafunctions of the language are deemed as the appropriate approaches to language analysis in the views of CDA proponents, and as such present an opportunity for this researcher to achieve the main objective of this research.

2.1.1 Analysis of political textual presentation

The primary intention of any communication exchange that human beings engage in is to convey messages. However, beyond the literal meaning of any utterance lies an underlying meaning that the speaker may or may not be aware of. To linguists, this presents an opportunity to study utterances at different levels of language production, word level, sentence, paragraph and, at a wider level. Thus, Bagozzi (2007, as cited in Ludwig and de Ruyter, 2016, p. 125), presented that "how word categories and sentence constructions, apparent in people's everyday language use, give insights into their intentions, perceptions and identities" is referred to as speech act (SA). Ludwig and de Ruyter (2016) further borrowed the expanded thought from Austin (1962) and Searle (1976) who presented that the fundamental principle of Speech Act Theory (SAT) is that language production (whether spoken or written), at the words level, sentence level and through conversation, expresses a speaker's underlying meaning and intention. Another perspective on SA was provided by Yule (as cited in Koussouhon & Dadjo, 2016, p. 14) that SA is "the act performed by a speaker with an utterance". Therefore, with every

utterance, it can be assumed that there is an ideological intention. To explain this better, Amakali (2016) has indicated that Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) have established that "a speech act is equal to a communicative action" (p. 77).

As found in Hashim (2015), it was noted that SAs, according to Austin (1962) are classified into three categories, namely: locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary acts. Amakali (2016) argued that these classifications include every general conversation, formal or informal. To tie this notion to this research, the first objective of this research focuses on the analysis of the textual presentation of AR and PDMYL position papers. In the context of this study, it was done in keeping with the guiding principles of the SAT. Herein, the textual presentation to be analysed was drawn from the public documents, which are position statements issued from AR and PDMYL, authored as a formal conversation with and for the public that depicts their stance on varying issues.

In summary, a distinction can be made between SAT as a theory and SA as an act of making an utterance. On the one hand, SAT as a theory provides the overall guiding principles of how utterances can be analysed, understood and interpreted beyond their literal meaning (or face value), whilst SA, on the other hand, denotes the actual act of producing these utterances. Ludwig and de Ruyter (2016) have provided a distinction among SA classifications as briefly illustrated; locutionary act, refers to the act in which the person speaks or articulates something, in other words, Nordquist (as cited in Koussouhon and Dadjo, 2016, p. 125) explained that it is "the act of making meaningful utterance". Illocutionary acts, however, refer to the intention of the speaker when an utterance is made; in other words, as Ludwig and de Ruyter (2016) indicated, it refers to what individual aims to attain by uttering or mentioning something. Perlocutionary act, on the other hand, encompasses the effect derived from the utterance by the listener. This is what Akinwotu (2013) refers to as the hearer's reaction to hearing and comprehending the intention of the utterances.

With the above orientation, several studies have been done the world over, focusing on political speeches and analysing them to establish their impact and the type of language used by these leaders. To drive the point home, Ludwig and de Ruyter (2016) made an intriguing illustration of how SAT can be applied to a text, deriving different perlocutionary effects to different individuals:

> Two examples in which customers express their views of a book on hip-hop and reggae musical styles on social media:

Message 1: "This book rocks, really awesome stuff – you need to get it right away!"

Message 2: "This book is very poorly written; it is also missing significant information and seems incomplete in general. I would suggest looking for an alternative" (p. 126).

Interpreting the above illustrations, the two reviews, although referring to the same book, are constructed differently and hence give different perlocutionary effects. The first message employs a colloquial style of writing to give the impression of the book, in contrast with the second message, which can be said that it bears a formal style.

Some of the studies that employed SAT in analysing political texts include a study carried out by Hashim (2015) on the selected speeches by John Kerry and George W. Bush political speeches. The study found that the two political leaders, whilst speaking during their presidential campaigns, "promise and challenge their hearers to show that they are committed to the task of rebuilding their nation" (Hashim, 2015,. p. 706). The same study further found that Kerry's speech used commissive speech acts because this is important for a political candidate to entice their followers and guide them towards their aim of emerging victorious in the elections. In a parallel contrast, Bush's speech was found to be characterised by assertive speech acts, and this, in turn, implied a degree of truthfulness and, therefore, projected Bush as a political candidate as truthful and trustworthy.

Akinwotu (2013) conducted another study analysing the political text in the form of acceptance speeches of Chief Obafemi Awolowo and Chief M.K.O. Abiola in Nigeria. The study revealed that these acceptance speeches by the two chiefs were somewhat like presidential inaugural speeches in that they utilised Akinwotu (2013) "a preponderance of assertive, expressive, and commissive acts" (p. 49). The same study further concluded that acceptance speeches are generally used as subtle persuasive and awareness-creation tactics, in political spheres where candidates would be vying for support from the general populace using language.

Although these are political texts in the form of speeches, their purpose is to communicate the intention of the politicians to the electorates. This is like the position papers that are issued by AR and PDMYL as their state their stance on varying issues. The intention is to communicate with the followers. Hence, the use of the language is bound to have underlying ideological meanings beyond the literal interpretation. As Koussouhon and Dadjo (2016) have put it that whether in politics or public discourse, it should be agreed that "much more is communicated than is said or written" (p. 13); as a result, it can be safely

contended that there are 'visible meanings' and 'invisible meanings' to locutionary acts. In brief, the study by Koussouhon and Dadjo (2016) concerned itself with the 'invisible' meaning, or how it can be understood to know what was intended regardless of whether it was stated directly or not. Given this, the above notion has therefore captured the basic goal of the analysis in the present study through the application of CDA to written texts presented as position papers (press statements), which is to go beyond what is written and recognise the underpinning ideologies in these texts.

While doing so, it is prudent to note that, in general, Akinwotu (2013) political statements include paying attention to meanings and what is contained and implied by those meanings whilst at the same time appreciating how the statements will be understood and interpreted. Ordinarily, the illocutionary act of any political communication seeks to influence people's opinion towards them [politicians] and their plans, and principally, to stimulate "support through their political speeches and campaign activities, symbolic appeals and various rhetorical strategies" (Akinwotu, 2013, p. 48).

Another example that can be related to the study of political texts meant for political communication is a study conducted by Amakali (2016) titled Persuasive Speech Acts in the Namibian National Assembly. The study has revealed that Namibian members of parliament do have at their disposal, the ability to use a wide range of tactics to influence using rhetorical devices. The study further highlighted some of the rhetorical devices under which these Namibian National Assembly's Hansard (transcripts of Parliamentary debates) were analysed, and these included "questions, evidence, inclusive language, anecdote, attacks and praises, metaphor and emotional appeal" (Amakali, 2016, p. 1205). The study thus concluded that most of the lawmakers in Namibia do make use of these SAs intentionally to influence an understanding when engaging in debates. This is how Amakali (2016) summarised the findings, "some MPs deliberately used rhetoric to verbally influence the audience or win arguments in parliamentary proceedings" (p. 1214).

The above reflections of various studies executed by different political texts provide a background of how texts can be used to communicate more than what is written. Thus, in reference to the first objective of the present study, the goal is to build on findings such as those highlighted above to analyse the language used by the two formations (AR and PDMYL) in their position papers or press statements.

2.1.2 Nominalisation and Passivation in the Political Language

i. Nominalisation

In the study by Sarfo and Krampa (2012), they highlighted that the use of language could be carefully utilised "to build an ideology or establish a power relation of imbalance between two groups of people" (p. 388). From this study, Sarfo and Krampa (2012) found that the two presidents (Barack Obama and George W. Bush) purposely chose specific forms, terminologies, and phrases that they thought would have an impression on their audience. The findings from such a study are not to be seen in isolation; they are to be viewed as representative of those with power and are in power and are deliberately using language as a tool to garner influence over their followers.

As found by Hassan (2018), some of the linguistic tools that can be used to project certain beliefs and philosophical stances, especially in the media fraternity, are the use of activation, passivation, and nominalisation. For this study and contextual orientation, clarity will be provided to these concepts, passivation and nominalisation, as they form part of the present study's objectives. These two notions were borrowed from Theo Van Leeuwen's framework model, stating that there are two types of strategies that can be used, suppression and backgrounding. To distinguish between the two, the "difference … is the point that it leaves a trace or not in the representation" (van Leeuwen, 2008, as cited in Ali & Bustam, 2020, p. 41). Simply put, suppression is the form of exclusion that does not leave suggestive hints in the depiction when applied. As found in Ali and Bustam (2020), Van Leeuwen model further shows that suppression is categorised into two strategies, namely; passivation and nominalisation. In brief, as Ndenguino-Mpira (2013) put it, "these two concepts are the main branches of the framework (Van Leeuwen model) which are usually known as "role allocation" in the model" (p. 171).

To narrow and focus on the understanding, let us borrow the assertion by Mwiinga and Simwinga (2020) that nominalisation is a distinct practice that can be used to indicate the methods "as things rather than actual happenings" (p. 78). This view agrees with those who advanced an understanding of nominalisation as defined that it is a "transformation which reduces a whole clause to its nucleus, the verb, and turns that into a noun" (Fowler et al., 1979, as cited in Söğüt, 2018, p. 163). Expounding on this, Fowler (as cited in Hassan, 2018, p. 94) added that "nominalisation enables the speakers to delete or add, especially in the areas of power relations and writer's point of view". This is especially prominent in the political landscape and is religiously exploited by politicians, specifically those aware of the impact that nominalisation has on the audience. Sholihah and Degaf (2020) in their view on this concept, agreed that "nominalization can

also be used to downplay individuals' responsibility for an action, or completely remove human beings or agents of any sort from the picture" (p. 163).

To survive in politics, politicians would exonerate themselves from direct responsibility for the promises that they made when campaigning, and by so doing, they shield themselves as an individual from being held directly accountable for the deliverables and promises made. To do this, nominalisation is employed. In a doctoral study that focused on an analysis of the discourse on corruption in presidential speeches in Nigeria from 1957- 2015, Ogunmuyiwa (2019) maintained that nominalisation "is a means of avoiding the identification or naming of participants" (p. 120). It is further noted in this study that nominalisation can also be said to be a "grammatical instrument used in turning verbs/verbal group or other clause constituents into nouns/noun phrases" (p. 120). Borrowing an illustration from this study, Ogunmuyiwa (2019) found out that instead of mentioning the names of the politicians, government officials, or specific persons who have participated in the corrupt acts, the president opted for the linguistic expressions that hide the identities of the wrongdoers. As an example, in relation to money, the phrase "the use of money" hides information at two levels, "it completely distances the action from the actor while also hiding the identities of those who use money in the elections **(**Ogunmuyiwa, 2019, p. 122). Hence, Ogunmuyiwa (2019), citing Downing and Locke (2006) concluded this to be what is termed as **"**objectification of the process and depersonalisation of participants".

Further exemplifying findings were revealed in a study on Critical Discourse Analysis of Donald Trump's Inaugural Speech carried by Hassan (2018), where it was found that Trump made use of verbs that were changed into nouns so that a similar flow and sequence of thoughts is kept and so as the power of his ideas. Another interpretation of these findings was that he used "nominalisation in certain verbs such as "celebrate" to say "celebration" to announce his happiness" and as a method of showing that "power will be transferred from the previous president to the people," ideologically removing himself and placing the people at the centre (Hassan, 2018, p. 100). This was in no way unique to this study. Another study by Billig (2008) highlights an advantage attached to the use of nominalisation that it assists in the formation of new specialised vocabulary or what is referred to as 'relexicalization' (p. 794). Collaborating on this notion, Mwiinga and Simwinga (2020) have opined that nominalisation can be an important "lexico-grammatical characteristic" for many languages (p. 77). However, Billig (2008) has noted that some critical writers have contended that nominalisation disguises and misrepresents the actual existing reality.

ii. Passivisation

Ali and Bustam (2020) have argued that passivisation is a method where information "is presented as passive clause or sentence while nominalisation is a strategy that makes the action being a nomina" (p. 41). This means that in politics and journalism, there is a strategy to present information so that the agent who has acted on a verb is deliberately omitted. This strategy ensures generalisation and reduces direct accountability on the side of politicians. In the context of this study, AR and PDMYL as political entities will be analysed on the extent to which they use this strategy, how this strategy affects their message and whether this is an effective way to communicate with the electorates. Thus, this stresses the views by Ali and Bustam (2020) that "exclusion passivisation" is a method that is used to redirect the reader's attention to a specific direction concerning what is being reported.

In this regard, Ndenguino-Mpira (2013) has noted that "a participant in a passive role can be represented either as a subject or as beneficiary (p. 137). This strategy is referred to as subjection, which means:

> "The representation of a passive participant as the subject is realised in the texts by participation (i.e., by grammatical participant roles) and, more precisely, when the —passivated participant‖ (i.e., the participant represented in a passive role) is the Goal of the process expressed by the verb" (Van Leeuwen, 2008, as cited in Ndenguino-Mpira, 2013, p. 137).

When a passivated subject is presented as a beneficiary, it is referred to as "beneficialisation (i.e., the representation of a passive participant as a beneficiary). Van Leeuwen (as cited in Ndenguino-Mpira, 2013, p. 138) has provided the rationale that when the passivated participant has a beneficialisation role, the participant "is represented either as recipient in a material process (alternatively referred to as Receiver in a verbal process) or Client".

In a study that focused on interrogating China's approach to relations with sub-Saharan Africa in official documents, it was found that China's official discourse, as reflected in the analysed documents China is most frequently projected as an active participant while African countries are presented as passive participants (Ndenguino-Mpira, 2013). This speaks to the power imbalance in how China sees African countries and, quite strikingly, how they approach their negations.

Another illustration of passivation was made by Billig (2008) using the headline "Attack on protesters". In this illustration, Billig (2008) explained that "such a headline that made use of the word 'attack' as an active verb would need to identify who was doing the attacking: e.g., 'Police Attack Protestors'" (p. 794).

Biling (2008) contended that choosing the passive form instead of active, or of the noun instead of a verb, is never philosophically unplanned; there is an intended ambiguity in such headlines that methodically leave out the person or thing that conducted the act. As found in Oktar (as cited in Sholihah & Degaf, 2020, p. 320), there is an inherent notion that "the media do not passively describe or record news events, but actively reconstruct them, mostly based on their ideological affiliations". Thus, by choosing to report the news using passive voice, there is an intended reconstruction of how the news should be received by the reader. The assumption here is that if there must be blame, intuitively, the reader would assume that there was a degree of unnecessary brutality and use of force, simply from the word foregrounding the word "attack" and leaving out the subject who carried the "attack."

Therefore, in view of the second objective that aims at analysing the use of passivation and nominalisation in the position papers as published in public by the two formations, it becomes pertinent to note that the Namibian political landscape has not been friendly in the past to new formations entering political turf. For this reason, it is, in part, safe to assert that no political formation was able to dethrone the ruling party (Swapo) out of power since the country gained its independence. Language has been a major part of the key weapons used to mobilise and garner support from the electorate; as stated by Jalali and Sadeghi (2014) that "one important point in political-critical discourse analysis is that a successful political discourse is the one that moves toward the expected willingness and desires of a society"(p. 9). Seen against the emergence of AR into the political scene and the continued perseverance of the dominance of PDMYL politically, the relevance of the two political formation existence pertinently relied on the use of language, and that could be termed as one of the strengths that ensured their survival in the political arena.

Under this specific objective (objective 2), the understanding can also be expanded with the explanations put forth by Jalali and Sadeghi (2014), who support Fairclough's view of "language and power", noting that there are two main distinctions that must be made when referring to power "in" and "behind" discourse. According to Jalali and Sadeghi (2014), "power in" the discourse views discourse as a space where associations of power are used.

Wang (as cited in Balog, 2019, p. 46) indicated that "President Obama utilized material process mostly in his speeches to show the achievements of his administration and to gain the support of the American people". This is to be seen alongside what Jalali and Sadeghi (2014) found in their study on Iran's political dynamic. In this study, it was found that in Iran, different traditional conditions aid a political discourse to

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prevail and dominate during election campaigns. Some of the listed ones from that study included "having religious thoughts, fighting with immorality and corruption, bravery toward foreigners, willingness to stability and safeguarding the interests of the people, willingness to social and cultural freedoms, submitting effective strategies to have suitable interaction with others, simple-living and avoidance of luxury and so on" (p. 9). In a study done by Salayo (2020), it was found that President Trump aligns a lot of emphasis on tangible actions to solve and attain set goals. It was further found out in Eisazadeh (2020) that President Trump brings to the fore importance of the participation of every citizen, especially the youth, in preserving the worth of every American citizen.

Jansson (2010) dissertation on a Discourse Analysis of Namibian Policies for Development found that there was a major change in rhetoric to fit the discourse of the day so that Europe and Africa, in general, could have a more reciprocated relationship and that African countries, Namibia included, could project an image of an equal partner rather than a beggar. In these findings, Jansson (2010, p. 25) asserted that "this particularly been done with a change in rhetoric's. Concepts like 'donor', 'recipient' and 'aid' have been abandoned for signs like 'partnerships', 'development cooperation and other similar concepts."

Depending on where one is, the language used is carefully crafted to have a desired impact within the society, and each one in the political arena has a unique way of applying language use to their advantage.

2.1.3 Political Rhetoric and the Maintaining the Narrative in the Public Domain

In the field of politics, the use of language by politicians is largely considered a key component, especially useful when campaigning for support. Beyond the message in a political speech lies the art of portraying that message. The world over, politicians have relied heavily, whether by intention or by chance, on one essential tool to persuade and lure their audience, rhetoric. Bonnefille (2011) has argued that the purpose of rhetoric is largely to persuade the listeners or those in attendance on why it is important to deal with certain identified issues or topics. Similarly, Amakali (2018) has put it that rhetoric is simply a skill of persuading another person's conviction into a certain perspective. Kangira and Mungenga (as cited in Amakali, 2018, p. 110) have further provided that "rhetoric is the faculty of discovering in any particular case all of the available means of persuasion".

Initially developed by Aristotle, rhetoric theory is premised on explaining how the art of persuasion manifests itself when used to influence the audience. Amakali (2016) has noted that Aristotle's theory of rhetoric consists of three types of persuasion such as ethos (character), pathos (emotions), and logos

(reasoning). Moreover, Jarraya (2013) has expanded this by noting that the "three persuasive strategies are aimed at convincing the addressee with the goal of manipulating their beliefs" (p. 80).

To understand the stance and premise of Aristotle's proposition of the rhetoric theory, it is vital that each one of the persuasive strategies is explained, and thus, this researcher will adopt the following understanding of these persuasive strategies as propounded by various scholars. Logos, or simply put, logic, according to Murthy and Gosal (2016), is interconnected with the message as the speaker relays it. Murthy and Gosal (2016) further maintained that if an utterance attempts to convince the listeners with sound and plausible evidence, such an utterance can be said to be a "logical argument" (p. 69) by the hearer. For this to happen, Murthy and Gosal (2016) have noted that the dependability of the information ought to get its backing "from facts, values, statistics, Mathematical calculations and objectives" (p. 69). In other words, Ilie (2003, as cited in Amakali, 2016, p. 1206), concurred by highlighting that "a message is expected to provide its audience with good and sufficient reasons to believe and to act" this is what Aristotle called logos.

Ethos, on the other hand, is defined as "the credibility that the author establishes among his audience with his personality and character" (Murthy & Gosal, 2016, p. 70). Amakali (2018) has indicated that this concept, ethos, relates to the trustworthiness and dependability of the speaker by the audience. Amakali (2018) further explained that the term 'Ethos' originates from a Greek term that defines 'character'. For this to happen, however, there must be a level of confidence between the interlocutors, which can only be built if the audience is given the impression that the speaker is dependable and that what the speaker may be relaying will not affect them adversely. Therefore, in brief, Murthy, and Gosal (2016) defined ethos as "the audience perception of the speaker's credibility and authority over the subject he is speaking" (p. 70).

The last strategy, as contained in Aristotle theory of rhetoric, is pathos. This, in principle, can be summed up as relating to the "speaker's appeal to his audience's sense of emotions and their interests" (Murthy & Gosal, 2016, p. 72). Amakali (2018) noted that this could ideally be achieved if the speaker succeeds in appealing to emotions like love, sympathy or fear, arousal of compassion or spiteful imageries and triggering of detestation or disapproval. Thus, building on the stance by Murthy and Gosal (2016) that pathos should be seen as a way of alluring those listening to you by exciting their feeling, Amakali (2018)

has put it subtly that "Aristotle believed that it (pathos) should be the only persuasive appeal needed" (p. 83).

Whilst it may be argued by some linguists that what Aristotle posits may not be entirely accurate as a measurement or a credible position of what should constitute rhetoric, the explanations that Aristotle provides in expounding on his rhetoric theory proposition have by far tied in well with the political language use. The dynamics that politicians align themselves to when crafting political speeches are, to a large extent, covered in the rhetoric theory propounded by Aristotle. Whereas one can understand that criticisms against Aristotle rhetoric theory are sitting on the base that Aristotle was not a linguist, the proposition that he put forth, which included the use of metaphor is conceivable. It was Chilton (2004 as cited in Gatcho, 2019), who highlighted that metaphors are inevitable in our every day's communication; they are not just ways of conveying messages, but they are part of the individual's making. As this is a CDA study, the use of metaphor in political texts, more dominantly in speeches, cannot be avoided. It is for this same reason that Gatcho (2019) has argued that the reason for utilising metaphors in political discourse is to encourage the listeners to hypothesise a constructive exemplification of the speaker in their minds. It is for this very reason that Gatcho (2019) believes that a suitable approach to analyse the usage of language in politics is CDA.

Another important instrument that is important in the "creation of interpersonal meanings in discourses" (Olaniyan and Adeniji, 2015, as cited in Gatcho, 2019, p. 107) is modality. Modality is centred on using auxiliary verbs to show modality, for example, should, can, must, would and many others. As far as CDA goes, however, modality is not limited to the use of the auxiliary verbs, but it includes "the attitude and confidence of the speaker about his propositions" (Lillian, 2008, as cited in Gatcho, 2019, p. 107).

These rhetoric strategies, as expounded above, are therefore often used by politicians to lure the audience, and Namibian political players are no different from these. Importantly, there are specific devices that may be employed as part of rhetoric. A study by Amakali (2016) on Persuasive Speech Acts in the Namibian National Assembly has found that seven rhetorical devices were found to be prominently used in the National Assembly as part of persuasion strategies by the lawmakers, and these include questions, evidence, inclusive language, anecdote, attacks and praises, metaphor, and emotional Appeal.

Thus, the present study will therefore attempt to find out whether any of the political formations, AR and PDMYL use different rhetoric strategies as part of their communication tools to appeal to their constituents in their written engagements. Whilst it can be acknowledged that rhetoric as an act and as a theory includes a wide range of concepts, the present study will limit itself to the dominantly used rhetoric strategies that the researcher may find used for luring and persuasion purposes. Furthermore, for this study, the researcher will limit the analysis to how rhetoric strategies were used as a persuasive strategy and tool to foreground ideological meaning in the texts.

2.2 Research Gap

There is a substantial number of scholarly articles extracted from studies done on various political texts. However, as it was evident in the context of this study, these texts are speeches from different political leaders in the world. One such leader who caught the attention of scholars was Barack Obama, the President of the United States of America (USA) from 2009 to 2017. As found in Kazemian and Hashemi (2014), in their studies on Obama's 2012 speeches, one of the following observations was highlighted; "Besides, it is immediately apparent from the selected speeches that President Obama relies heavily on rhetorical devices, particularly parallelism tropes and unification strategy" (p. 1186). Further studies were conducted targeting another USA president, President Donald J. Trump. A study by Khan, Adnan, Kaur, Khuhro, Asghar and Jabeen (2019) saw from Trump's speeches that Trump used some identified discursive strategies to advance anti-Muslim sentiments: "These discursive techniques strategies have been identified with great density in Trump's 'Muslim Ban' statement. The most frequently used strategies are authority, evidentiality, generalization, presupposition, hyperbole, populism, and categorization" (p. 14). These are but a few examples emanating from the CDA studies on political figures in the world.

Interestingly, the same can be said for presidents on the African continent, where mainly key speeches consisting of inaugural speeches were subjected to CDA with different findings. As for Namibia, Brown (2019) in his submission about presidential discourses on same-sex attraction noted that "the presidential era of Pohamba and Geingob shows signs of erosion of the aggressive Nujoma era that was marked by homosexual dissonance" (p. 14). Such an observation is one of the few conclusions drawn following a CDA by a scholar. Limwena (2019. p.7) has noted that "the main role of CDA is to understand social problems, ideologies and power relationships perpetuated by the use of text" and thus, by subjecting speeches of Namibian political players or organisations would open the possibilities of understanding the ideological stance of the local political leaders. Whereas aware of the impact that language use has on the

message portrayed, Niilungu (2018) has nonetheless opined that "as a whole, it could be seen that producers use their power and ideology to change the behaviour and thought of people" (p. 75).

In this context, Amakali (2016) summarised the findings of the study done on the use of persuasive speech acts in the Namibian National Assembly that "some MPs deliberately used rhetoric to verbally influence the audience or win arguments in parliamentary proceedings" (p. 1214). Similarly, in a study by Iipinge, Makamani and Ashikuti (2019) on the Patterns of Code-Switching in the Namibian Parliament, it was discovered that Namibian parliamentarians do make use of code-switching in their parliamentary debates. This same study further indicated that the two principal reasons for this phenomenon are "the need to foster relations with fellow Parliamentarians" and "the need to effectively communicate ideas during Parliamentary debates" (p. 21)

Therefore, with the above orientation and building on the findings by Amakali (2016), Niilungu (2018), Brown (2019) and Iipinge, Makamani and Ashikuti (2019), whose studies focused on the language use by the Namibian politicians, the researcher has found no evidence of a CDA study that was carried in Namibia on the persuasive narrative of the political establishments that is meant to lure youthful followers in the contemporary politics where specific issues, including youth empowerment, is central. Thus, with this realisation, this study was an attempt to fill that gap by carrying out a CDA study that analysed the language use by the two political formations [AR and PDMYL] and how it affects their ideological stance towards issues affecting the youth in Namibia.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

Wodak (2015) explains that CDA is a multi-disciplinary line of inquiry that examine language usage that "goes beyond the sentence level, as well as other forms of meaning-making such as visuals and sounds, seeing them as irreducible elements in the (re)production of society via semiosis" (p. 4). This means that, in general, CDA deals with the analysis that goes beyond what is written or said and tries to reveal hidden meanings. Kazemian and Zhou (2015) have argued that discourse is dependent on the perspective of whoever is carrying the analysis. This is so because CDA, as it were, does not end with the meanings of the text, as is noted that it "focuses on social problems and especially on the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of power abuse or domination" (van Dijk, 2001, as cited in Ayeomoni & Akinkuolere, 2012, p. 12).

This study, while it has used CDA as an overall guiding approach to analyse the position papers (press statements) of both AR and PDMYL on issues relating to youth empowerment, it specifically applied two theories that are relevant to the analysis of political texts, namely. Speech Act Theory (SAT) by J.L. Austin and Systematic Functional Grammar (SFG) as propounded by M.A. Halliday. Over the years, linguists and other proponents of CDA have conceded that no one theory can be ascribed to CDA in that it relates to multiple theories that can be applied to arrive at a specific conclusion. To provide an overview of these two theories and how they relate to CDA, the following is a summarised description of what each of the two theories entails and the link to the research objectives in the present study.

2.3.1 Speech Act Theory as a Guiding Theory in the Analysis

Hashim (2015), in explaining the relevance of Speech Act Theory, noted that it is of principal importance to the field and concept of pragmatics. In this context, this study adopted the definition of pragmatic as found in Goddart (1998, as cited in Akinwotu, 2013, p. 44) that pragmatics is "the study of how speakers and hearers interpret meaning in a particular context - taking account of the physical and social situation, knowledge of each other's background and cultural conventions…". Concurring with this notion is Matczak (2019) who argued that "the study of speech acts is the heart of pragmatics, and any consideration of language in context is essentially influenced by the pragmatics theory of speech acts" (p. 1). When seen in view of CDA, Austin and Searle (as cited in Ludwig & de Ruyter, 2016, p. 125) have also noted that the fundamental principle of Speech Acts Theory is that any language use, be it written or spoken, via "words, sentences and interactional exchanges conveys a speaker's underlying meaning and intention". This stance to unearth the underpinning ideologies behind speech acts through the analysis of texts ties in with the basic tenets of CDA, which was applied to the three specific objectives of this study.

The notion of Speech Acts Theory, as propounded by J.L. Austin (Hashim, 2015), states that speech acts can be categorised into three classes, namely: locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary acts. Akinwotu (2013) expounded on these classifications as follows the locutionary act "is the act of saying something" (p. 45). Second, the illocutionary act, on the other hand, refers to "the intention the speaker has in uttering a statement" (p. 45). The third speech act is the perlocutionary act which refers (Akinwotu, 2013) to the effect that an utterance (or written) has on the hearer upon hearing what was said.

In attempting to further simplify the classification, Austin had proposed various classifications of illocutionary speech acts; however, much of the linguistic world had adopted the illocutionary classification as proposed and modified by Searle (1969; 1976, as cited in Akinwotu, 2013, p. 45):

i.   Assertives: Commit speakers to the truth of some proposition, e.g., stating, claiming, reporting, announcing, etc.

ii.   Directives: Count as an attempt to bring about some effect through the action of the hearer, e.g., requesting, ordering, demanding, begging, etc.

iii.   Expressives: Count as the expression of some psychological state, e.g., thanking, apologising, congratulating, etc.

iv.   Commissives: Commit speakers to some future action e.g., promising, offering, swearing, etc. to do something.

v.   Declarations: Speech acts whose successful performance brings about the correspondence between the propositional content and reality. e.g., naming a baby/ship, resigning, dismissing, accepting, etc

As indicated by Hashim (2015), "political discourse is not only about stating public propositions. It is about politics. It is about doing things with words" (p.700). Hence, given this, SAT will be applied in the analysis, specifically to decide on the type of language use in terms of illocutionary classification as developed by J.R Searle and what ideological readings can be made from such classifications.

2.3.2 Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG)

Over the years, linguists have attempted to explain in detail the characteristics of language, its use and how we, as humans, can construct it to fit in different settings without fail. One such linguist whose work prominently features in M.A. Halliday. As a linguist, Halliday developed a theory in the 1960s called Systematic Functional Language (SFL) that places context and meaning at the centre. Taken from O'Donnell (2012, as cited in Almurashi, 2016, p. 72), it is noted that "SFL is an approach to language developed largely by M.A.K. Halliday and his followers during the 1960s in the United Kingdom, and later in Australia" (O'Donnell 2012, Almurashi, 2016, p. 72). It is further expressed by Almurashi (2016) that strong emphasis is put on the purpose of language, focusing on what language is used for rather than "what language structure is all about and the manner by which it is composed" (Matthiessen & Halliday, as cited in Almurashi, 2016, p. 1). It is to be understood that SFL perceives language for its functions and ability to create meaning to enable people to have a meaningful exchange. Cordeiro (2018) has noted that

SFL takes language "as a social semiotic system through which meanings are created between interlocutors" (p. 208). Thus, explaining what SFL is, in a nutshell, as some scholars have noted, is that SFL as a theory is largely "interested in the manner by which language is utilised in social settings so as to attain a specific target" (O'Donnell, 2012, as cited in Almurashi, 2016, P. 71). Further expounding on this, Ezeifeka (2016) argued that the notion of meaning is fundamentally a key element of systemic theory. Thus, according to Ezeifeka (2016), this "meaning –making resource helps language users to make sense of their experiences in their social environment and also act out their social roles and relationships" (p. P24).

i. Applicability of SFL to Texts Analysis

Going with the argument put forward by Almurashi (2016), SFL, which sometimes is referred to as systemic functional grammar (SFG), "studies the language through meaning (i.e., its function)" (p. 72). Thus, to fully understand the notion of the SFL theory, it is prudent to look at what is entailed in the explanations as originally propounded by Halliday. Whereas Cordeiro (2018), like many other scholars who supported the SFL theory, argued that Language is always in context and that context cannot be separated from language, the complexities of language can therefore be narrowed down and explained, according to the SFL theory, to four interrelated ways or strata, namely; semantics, lexicogrammar, phonology and phonetics.

Providing further explanations on these four ways of analysing the language, Context, Semantics, Lexico-grammar, and Phonology, Almurashi (2016) simplified it as follows;

a) Context

Context is the primary and fundamentally inclusive process that creates meaning in the language. In this sense, Halliday recognises two important contexts, namely, the Context of Culture [genres] and the Context of Situation or technically referred to as Register (Matthiessen & Halliday 1997). Borrowing the thoughts from the work of Matthiessen & Halliday (as cited in Almurashi, 2016), Halliday modelled the Context of the Situation (register) where it is to be understood that "the aspects of the context relate intimately to the language used to create text, in terms of three important strands", and these strands are such as Field, Tenor and Mode. In this context, Field relates to "the topic or what is being talked about," Tenor relates to "who is/participate in the communication and the relationships between them",

and Mode indicates "what part the language is playing in the interaction and what form it takes (written or spoken)" (p. 73).

Context of culture or genre, as it is sometimes called, stipulates how things get done in our everyday life, especially when those doing them use language to achieve their accomplishments. Thus, as asserted by Eggins (as cited in Almurashi, 2016, p. 55), a genre is a staged, goal-oriented, purposeful activity in which speakers engage as members of our culture". It can therefore be said that genres include conversations that scheme activities such as buying and selling, seeking and giving information, storytelling, exchanging of opinions and many other life encounters.

b) Discourse semantics

This is the second level of text analysis, as propounded by Halliday in his SFL theory. Using the understanding provided by Almurashi (2016) discourse semantics is said to entail three metafunctions of the language, namely Interpersonal, Ideational and Textual metafunctions. These meanings, as proposed by the SFL model within the discourse semantics level, can be further expounded on what they entail as follow; interpersonal meanings (clause as an exchange) deal with the communication between the speaker(s) and those spoken to. Furthermore, according to Matthiessen & Halliday (as cited in Almurashi, 2016, p. 73) "It is used to establish the speaker's role in the speech situation and relationship with others"). In other words, Interpersonal metafunctions relate to when speakers must determine their speech roles and establish relationships amongst themselves (Yu and Wu, 2016). To do this, one of its main grammatical elements that determine this is Mood and Modality (Matthiessen & Halliday, 1997, as cited in Almurashi, 2016). MOOD, according to Yu and Wu (2016), is perceived as a grammatical grouping that is influenced by the form of the verb in a sentence. Therefore, Nguyen (2012) summed it as meaning "our role in relationships with other people and our attitudes towards others are often expressed by interpersonal meaning" (p.86) The experiential meanings deal with the way we perceive the world around us, our experience of the world, how we interpret that experience, whom we converse with, the setting in which we find ourselves, and how we capture that using the language ((Matthiessen & Halliday, 1997, as cited in Almurashi, 2016). With experiential meaning to the surface as intended, one of the key grammatical elements is transitivity. Transitivity, as postulated by Matthiessen & Halliday (1997, as cited in Almurashi, 2016);

"includes several aspects: A- The processes (in the verbal group) B- The participants (human/non-human) who are participating in these processes (in the noun group). C- The circumstances in which

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the processes occur and the when, where, and how they take place [in the prepositional phrase and adverbial group]. For instance: (Circumstance) in the open glade [participant], the wild rabbits (Process) danced (circumstance) with their shadows (p. 89).

The textual meaning of the language, as per Halliday's SFL theory, asserts that "the textual meaning creates links between features of the text with elements in the context of the situation; it refers to the manner in which a text is organized" (Nguyen, 2012, p. 86). This implies and deals with the creation of text and the way speakers form meanings into the text that makes sense to the listeners.
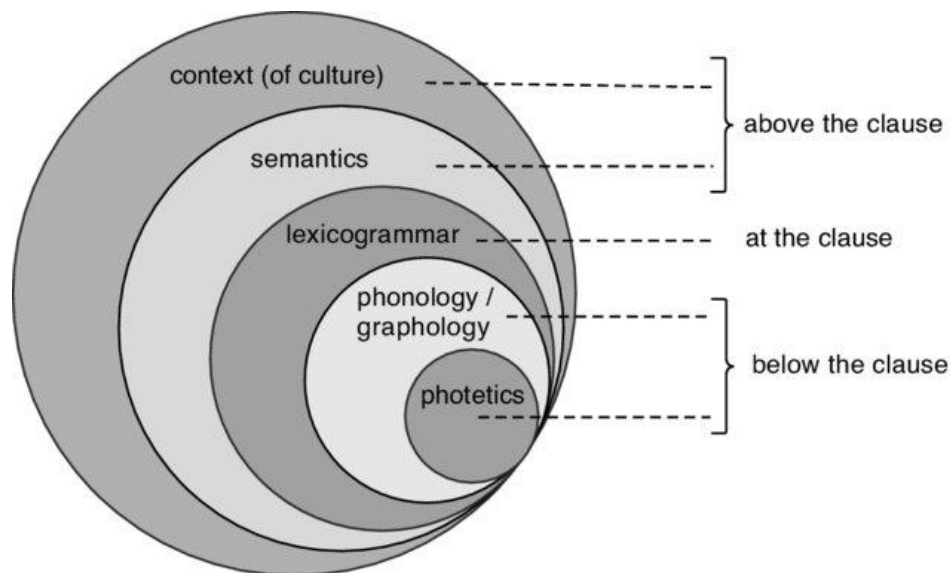
Stratification in language

Given how wide and diverse the SFL conceptual framework is, the researcher has opted to limit the analysis of the material for this study to the two ways of language analysis, namely, context and discourse semantics. This is in line with the research objectives that focus on language use and that the analysis in the present study is a CDA. Furthermore, these two ways of language analysis, as propounded by Halliday

in the SFL, can be tied to the main objective of the analysis, which is on language use by the two political formations, [PMDYL and AR]. It can equally be argued that context and discourse semantics were deemed appropriate to provide better space to understand how AR and PDMYL use language to convey specific messages and stances on issues affecting the youth in the country. As formations that carry the aspirations of the youth, they have a constitutional obligation to articulate their stance on issues as they happen to assure and reassure their followers of their presence and that they are action-oriented entities.

2.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter provided the theoretical framework guiding the analysis of this research. The chapter further exemplified the fact that this is a CDA study; the researcher has used two specific theories that were deemed appropriate in conducting the analysis, namely SFG and SAT. Moreover, this chapter provided justifications for the two theories in that, firstly, SFG is associated with the views concerned about language use in political space and how language is used to influence political space. These conclusive analyses are done through three main approaches; textual, interpersonal, and ideational. Furthermore, SAT as a theory was explained principally by focusing on how illocutionary classifications, as developed by Searle, are applied to speech acts. A distinction between speech function as an action and SAT as a theory was also provided in this chapter. Similarly, the chapter explained how by applying CDA to a study, one looks beyond what is written and delves into the ideological interpretations of the texts. The chapter equally provided the distinction between nominalisation and passivisation and how the two are used in political language to deflect the individual's responsibilities using the language whilst conveying the message. It was also in this chapter that rhetoric strategies used by politicians are discussed and how this research will analyse these rhetoric strategies as used by AR and PDMYL in conveying their messages and in their persuasive acts. The chapter ended by providing the research gap that was identified, which necessitated the essence of this study to fill the existing knowledge gap.

Chapter Three

Research Methods and Procedures

3.1   Research Design

In this research, the researcher has used a case study as a research design for this present study. Crowel et al. (2011, p. 1) noted that case study research is "an approach that is used to generate an in-depth, multifaceted understanding of a complex issue in its real-life context". The case study design has been utilized widely in various scholarly disciplines and has yielded sound and substantive results. In this regard, Crowel et al. (2011) have observed that the fundamental characteristic of a case study design is the necessity to discover an occurrence or phenomenon in greater detail, particularly in its ordinary setting. Therefore, Crowel et al. (as cited in Niilungu 2018, p. 41) added that "this design can be utilized to explain, describe or explore events or phenomena in the everyday contexts in which they occur". Creswell and Creswell (2018) have also noted case studies to be "a design of inquiry found in many fields, especially evaluation, in which a researcher develops an in-depth analysis of a case, often a program, event, activity process or one or more individual" (p. 14). Thus, a research design can be summed as the plan of what ought to be done, a layout of how to proceed in the research process.

In the context of the present study, the researcher has focused on the language use by AR and PDM Youth League, thereby taking the two political formations as a central focus of the case study as selected by the researcher. The rationale used by the researcher in opting to pick out specifically the two political formations was informed by the realisation that the two formations are both, at present, not the parties at the helm of the current government, and importantly, both their core objectives place centrally youth empowerment issues, which is a key variable in the data collection method.

Thus, in this study, the researcher's intention was to critically analyse language use in position papers by AR and PDM Youth League. Undoubtedly, this research design was deemed a vital integral part of the research work hence this researcher has used a case study as a suitable research design.

3.2   Research Paradigm

According to Creswell and Creswell (2018), even though philosophical ideas continue to be buried in the research process, their impact on the research process remains significant and thus needs to be clarified. Creswell and Creswell (2018) noted that there are several known philosophical worldviews (or paradigm

as is known in some literature) that can be adopted for the research process, amongst others; post-positivist, constructivist, transformative and pragmatic worldviews. For easier brief orientation, post-positivism roots its position in the fact that (Creswell and Creswell, 2018) "it represents the thinking after positivism, challenging the traditional notion of the absolute truth of knowledge" (p. 6). This is all whilst acknowledging the fact that as researchers, one cannot be certain about the assertion of knowledge as far as human behaviour and actions go. On the other hand, constructivists (social constructivists) believe in individuals' search for their interpretation and understanding of the world they live and work in (Creswell and Creswell, 2018).

Pragmatic worldview, according to Creswell and Creswell (2018, p. 8), emanates from "actions, situations, and consequences", and according to Patton (1990), as cited in Creswell and Creswell (2018), it is concerned with "applications – what works- and solutions to problems" (p. 8) The last worldview is transformative. This philosophical thinking [transformative] towards research enquiry was developed by those who propounded that the other three worldviews were not insightful enough to address the plight of the marginalised people (Creswell and Creswell, 2018). Thus, in the mainframe of this worldview, "the research inquiry needs to be intertwined with politics and a political change agenda to confront social oppression at whatever levels it occurs" Mertens, (as cited in Creswell and Creswell, 2018. p. 9).

With the above orientation, this research enquiry was grounded in the constructivist worldview as a philosophical assumption. This, when seen in the context of the research objectives that the researcher intended to address, is directly linked and rooted in Namibia's political orientation that places democratic principles at the centre whilst allowing for varying opinions and interpretations of phenomena. In the research by Adom, Yeboah and Ankrah (2016), adopting the views of Honebein (1996), the term constructivism is positioned to refer to the phenomena wherein "people construct their own understanding and knowledge of the world through experiencing things and reflecting on those experiences (p, 2). Expanding on this understanding, it was noted that this philosophical worldview perceives "social reality as subjective and co-constructed through human experience" (Peters *et al.*, 2013, Ramoglou & Tsang, 2015, as cited in Chandra and Shang, 2017, p. 38). This notion places the understanding of the setting in which people live at the centre. A constructivist can conceptualise and frame the meanings of the contemporary phenomenon being studied based on what he already knows. Other researchers Cashman et al. (2008), Hein (1991), whose opinions were borrowed by Chandra and

Shang (2017), emphasised that people can formulate or make a lot of what they acquire through the experience of being in the settings as those being studied.

Putting the interpretation in the context of the current study, the two political formations are headed by leaders who live amongst the general electorates. This means that they understand what the general population needs are, what they yearn for and how these yearns can be solved. This is the experience that a constructivist uses in constructing their understanding towards certain phenomena. It is further noted in (Adom et al., 2016) that there notable two main methods by which knowledge is created; accommodation and assimilation. In brief, accommodation "involves the framing of one's mental representation of the external world to fit the new experiences s/he has gotten", whilst assimilation encapsulates an individual that "incorporates the new experience he has had into an already existing framework of old experiences without changing that framework" (p. 3). Thus, with this understanding, the two political formations, as led by youthful leaders, AR and PDM Youth League, are political movements established with a core motive to better the lives of the Namibian youth first. Therefore, the research inquiry into how these two political formations address the plight of youth relating to issues of empowerment conforms to the constructivist worldview, as the two entities are expected to find workable solutions for their youth constituents in general. Lastly, the fact that this inquiry was a Critical Discourse Analysis further compounds the stance to use a constructivist worldview for this study.

3.3   Research Approach

Creswell and Creswell (2018. p. 13) defined qualitative research as "a means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem." This study was conducted using a qualitative method. This was on the basis that during this research, the researcher obtained public documents, five (5) from each of the targeted political formations. Each document was analysed from the following nominated perspectives; from the speech act perspective and textual presentation, looking specifically at how nominalisation and passivation were used.

On the above basis, the qualitative method was applied to the purposively sampled public documents by subjecting them to the analysis by looking at the pointers, such as identifying the dominating type of illocutionary acts and the types of persuasion dominantly used. This information was then grouped and tabulated into tables that depict the frequency for each objective and classify them accordingly. This

enabled deduction of specific interpretations and the ideological inferences behind such texts and messages.

3.4 Research Setting

Given that this was a qualitative study that used the content analysis of public documents, the data collection in this study was confined to the Khomas region. This was because the headquarters of the two political formations are based in the Khomas region, specifically Windhoek. Furthermore, since data was derived from public documents, these documents were collected by the researcher through various means, including email.

3.5 Study Population

Brink, van der Walt and van Rensburg (2018) defined population as the entire group of people or non-human targets which meets the interest of the researcher and fulfil the set criteria the researcher intends to study. The study population comprised all position papers (or press statements) dealing with youth empowerment (public documents) issued by the AR and PDM Youth League between 2015 and 2020. While recognising the variety of position papers that may be ascribed to the two formations, this study specifically focused on statements issued from the two formations directly to the public through the press and other social media platforms. The rationale on why AR and PDM Youth League were selected for this study is premised on the following; the two formations' core business is centred on youth issues, PDM Youth League is a youth wing of the current official opposition party, and AR was founded by former members of the ruling party's youth league.

3.6 Sampling Procedure and Sample Size

In this research, a purposeful criterion sampling method was used. The researcher obtained five (5) different position papers from AR and PDM Youth Leagues that speak about issues concerning youth empowerment. These position papers were those issued from the period not earlier than the year 2015 and not later than the year 2020, so there is an equal chance for the two formations to be compared under the period of the same country's president.

As found in Elo et al. (2014, p. 4), "there is no commonly accepted sample size for qualitative studies because the optimal sample depends on the purpose of the study, research questions, and richness of the data". Using this rationale, the researcher has decided that a sample size of five (5) position papers from each of the targeted groups, namely; AR and PDM Youth League, was substantial enough to represent the stance of each of these political establishments and at the same time, evident enough to manifest the standard composition of their language use.

3.7 Research Instruments

To correctly gauge the adequacy of the intended data for analysis, it is important to establish what data is. Often, the word data is synonymously used with information. However, it is prudent to realise that data only becomes information when it is processed or analysed and certain conclusions are drawn (Annemi & Rose, 2014, as cited in Niilungu, 2018).

For that reason, this research has used public documents from AR and PDM Youth League as data sources, and the data collection used was a content analysis checklist. These elements, as listed on the checklist, were extracted from the position papers and, after that, were subjected to a CDA interpretation as per the identified tenets.

3.8 Data Analysis

According to Tipaldo (as cited in de Jesus & Pinto, 2016, p. 410), "Content analysis (CA) is an 'umbrella term' that can be described as a set of research procedures and methods, with varying degree of formalisation, which can be applied to texts in a well-defined and reproducible way and transform them in such a way as to enable the retrieval of meaningful information and produce trustworthy inferences". In other words, when analysing data using a CA method, a researcher is expected to break the data into

manageable smaller units so that these units should be adequate to draw meaningful inferences from. This is an affirmation of the assertion that qualitative content analysis is an inquiry procedure that is often referred to as "latent level analysis, because it concerns a second-level, interpretative analysis of the underlying deeper meaning of the data" Dörnyei (2007, as cited in Sándorová, 2014, p. 96).

As a CDA analyst, the smaller manageable unit was at a syntax level. This was because the researcher was looking at the discourse semantics whilst considering the context. To be able to do this, each individual sentence was analysed and interpreted, bearing in mind the context within which it was used. These interpretations are drawn from a CDA perspective for each of the three objectives. On this score, Elo et al. (2014, p. 5), in their submission have highlighted that "the most suitable unit of analysis will be sufficiently large to be considered as a whole but small enough to be a relevant meaning unit during the analysis process".

Patton (2003, p. 11) has indicated that "Inductive analysis" encompasses noticing related patterns, key themes, and categories in the analysed data. This, according to Patton (2003, p. 11), is a build-up step to reveal the findings from the data, where he asserted that "findings emerge out of the data through the analyst's interactions with the data". In this research, the researcher has attempted to establish the repetitive pattern in the language use, the dominantly used rhetorical devices, how the syntactic elements such as passivisation and nominalisation were used in the documents and what techniques were used to keep the narrative alive in the public domain. These elements were statistically analysed in terms of tabulated frequency and then qualitatively analysed in terms of the underlying meaning of their use. Several underlying possible meanings were extracted based on the phrasing of each analysed sentence and noted.

It was important to keep in mind that in this study, the researcher perceived text as a sentence, to enhance the extraction of the meaning as the interpretation was based on how the language was used about youth empowerment issues.

3.9   Ethical Considerations

According to Creswell (2014), those conducting research are obligated by moral duty to safeguard those taking part in the research, ensure that there is a degree of trust between them, safeguard the reliability of the study being conducted and guard against the ills that may have the potential to put the sincerity of the research in disrepute. Thus, as further warned by Creswell (2014, p. 92) that "the ethical considerations that need to be anticipated are extensive and they are reflected through the research

process". It is further stated that those drafting proposals should be able to anticipate such ethical issues and be able to deal with such issues accordingly.

Generally, ethical considerations that are expected in any research method relate to the research design. More specifically, this research used a CA checklist as a data collection tool and hence used secondary sources (public documents) for the analysis. It was thus on this ground that issues such as publication authorship, the use of findings by third parties and the general intention of the analysis may arise. For this reason, this researcher does not intend to assume authorship of any material obtained for analysis and has clarified this to the authors of the public documents obtained. Hence, all materials obtained were obtained through written consent from AR and PDMYL in their individuality, as there was no information related to this study which was obtained from people as respondents. Furthermore, the analysis done was not to be used for political purposes in any way and would be entirely used for linguistic analysis of the content of this academic study.

Moreover, the researcher has approached this analysis as a student, and as such, all obtained documents were treated and analysed with the impartiality humanely possible so that the outcomes are objective.

It was further clarified that as a student, the opinion and findings from this research should not be viewed to constitute the stance of the institution that the researcher is enrolled at. Equally, the findings from this research can only be used and restrained within the realm of the academic purpose of this study. For this reason, ethical clearance was obtained from the registering university before any research commenced.

3.10   Validity and Reliability

It is to be understood that in qualitative research, validity refers to the degree to which collected data "is plausible, credible, and trustworthy; and thus, can be defended when challenged" (Bashir et al., 2008, p. 3). This is despite the assertion, as noted by Bashir et al., (2008), that validity is not necessarily relevant to qualitative research, but the importance of quality checks cannot be ignored. To put it differently, whilst validity in qualitative research may be a contentious concept, it however should be viewed as encompassing credibility of the results, data collection, and the tools used thereof. In the views of Creswell and Miller (2000, as cited in Noble & Smith 2015), they perceive validity as a biased and one-sided concept; according to them, it is influenced by the researcher's opinion and views towards the subject under research. For this reason, numerous researchers have instead coined their own terminologies of validity and have in general accepted what they deem to be more relevant terminologies,

namely quality, trustworthiness to mention but a few (Davies & Dodd, 2002,; Lincoln and Guba, 1985,; Mishler, 2000,; Seale, 1999,; Stenbacka, 2001, as cited in Noble & Smith, 2015).

In the context of the present study, whereas there may be a margin of contention on the validity of any qualitative research results, data analysis was done methodically following a validated method of analysis, namely content analysis. As this was a CDA approach, several interventions were made to ensure that the information being analysed was authentic and would yield valid results. It was hence for this reason that the researcher opted to obtain the analysed documents from the AR and PDMYL offices directly. The conclusions drawn from these analyses would not only apply to the two political formation's future language usage but would also be of assistance to how other political establishments would position themselves as far as language use goes.

Reliability, on the other hand, in relation to qualitative studies, refers to the notion of assessing quality to create appropriate comprehension (Stenbacka, 2001, as cited in Noble & Smith, 2015,). It is to be understood that reliability, in qualitative research, is perceived as a substitute terminology for "credibility, neutrality or confirmability, consistency or dependability and applicability or transferability" Lincoln and Guba (as cited in Noble & Smith, 2015, p. 5). Hence the general understanding of the term reliability in qualitative research is primarily to generate a similar understanding from the results when subjected to varying methods and tools. Thus, for this present study, the approach used in the data analysis is considered dependable and stable.

3.11   Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the research design used for this study, which was a case study. The rationale for utilising this design was that the two formations were not at the helm of the government at the time of the study, and that they were both projecting themselves as the substantive representative voice of the youth. The chapter further expounded on constructivism as a research paradigm used and the appropriateness of this paradigm as it relates to the political orientation of the country and attempting to solve issues through political means. It is in this chapter that the research approach was presented and explained that the study used a qualitative approach as it relates to the analysis of public documents. The chapter also dealt with the setting that this study was conducted, which was in Khomas region because the heard quarters of both AR and PDMYL are in based Khomas region. The chapter further highlighted the study population for this study which comprises of issued press statements from the two movements. Another highlighted aspect was the sampling procedure used, which focused on the issued press statements between year 2015 and 2020 and the sample size, which specified at least five (5) of the position papers were analysed. It is further noted that the instrument used in the study was a content analysis checklist. This checklist guided the extraction of identified elements that were analysed on the frequency of use and ideological interpretations. The chapter continued to detail the ethical considerations that the researcher undertook to ensure that the study was ethically acceptable. The chapter ended with the aspect of reliability and validity, which emphasised the authenticity and credibility of the results.

Chapter Four
Major Findings and Discussions

4.1 Objective 1: Analyse the textual presentation of the two political formations

Within the context of political communication, it is generally perceived, as noted by Ramanathan et al. (2020), that election campaigns are a platform where specific views, purposes, and opinions are expressed. In the case under the consideration of this study, AR and PDMYL, while they were not studied during active election campaigns, the analysed materials from both political establishments are deemed, in the context of this study, as a way of communication to the electorates.

The specific objective of this analysis focused on the textual presentation of the two political formations by analysing these formations' constructions of the illocutionary act in their issued press statements (position papers) and how these illocutionary constructions portray the intended messages to the followers.

4.1.1   Illocutionary Acts in AR and PDMYL press statements

As stated by Ramanathan et al. (2020), "speech acts involve the analysis of intended meaning in conversations and discourse…" (P39). From the analysis made in the present study, it can be observed that with AR, the majority of the construction of the sentences falls within the illocutionary act type consisting of Assertives (64%), followed by Commissives (24%) with the Expressives in the third place with (6.3%) of the total analysed sentences and the least utilised type of illocutionary act type is Declaratives (1.8%).

In comparison, the results analysis of the illocutionary acts used in the press statements by PDMYL that were analysed showed that the majority of the PDMYL statements comprised Assertives (51.7%), followed by Directives (22.4%), with Commissives (15.5%) in the third place and the least used type of illocutionary act is the Declaratives (3.4%).

With further analysis, it was observed that the two political formations' preference to use Assertives illocutionary act could be apportioned to the need to educate, influence and subsequently lure through appearing relevant and speaking to the issues that affect the youthful followers. From the results obtained, AR use of language shows to project substantial use of assertive tone because the evidence from the analysis indicates that AR statements comprised stating (28.2%) and reporting (22.5%), respectively. Looking at the results, it can be deduced from the evidence that AR has utilised more

examples of stating Assertives illocutionary acts because, as a movement, their position papers are geared at stating specific issues that were not readily discussed in the public domain, prominently, the land issue.

> *"AR also mobilised young people who were required to do the physical removal of trees, bushes and guiding the caterpillars and graders that were demarcating roads and areas where bulk services will be placed." (AR)*

> *"They are fighting this program to ensure that you remain landless slaves in their flats and so-called Apartments" (AR)*

On the other hand, from these results, it can be read that whilst the majority of PDMYL are also of Assertives illocutionary act, analysed further, these Assertives are mainly constituting of stating (40%), claiming (22.2%) and describing (11.1%). These results can be interpreted that PDMYL being the youth wing of the official opposition (also referred to as alternative) party, it appears that PDMYL does not seem to take a radical stance towards issues it finds concerning. This can be apportioned to the ideological position of the PDMYL mother party. Ideologically, the PDMYL mother body can be described as liberalism. In other words, Shigwedha, Andreas and Alweendo (2019) liberalism refers to a system where "a government is representative, and there is an emphasis on legal equality, and inalienable human rights" (p. 3). Shigwedha, Andreas et al. (2019) also noted that liberal parties are arranged in terms of the extent of power they perceive should be given to the seating government. Thus, when compared to AR, PDMYL's linguistic tone can be said to be that which allows diplomacy to be exploited first before resorting to ultimatums, which tallies with the results that show that PDMYL has used more Directives as compared to AR.

To understand the linguistic tone of the PDMYL, a further look at what constitutes Directives as expounded in Akinwotu (2013, p. 45) "Directives count as an attempt to bring about some effect through the action of the hearer e.g. requesting, ordering, demanding, begging, etc." Hence, for PDMYL to have used more Directives than AR is in keeping with the ideological stance of each one of these political formations.
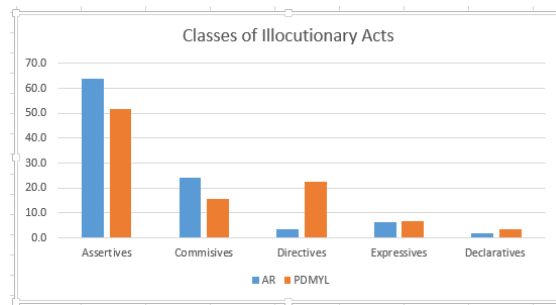
Figure 4. 1 Graph showing summary of illocutionary acts

In order to capture the interest and hearts of the youthful followers, AR has, in the past, breaking the traditional boundaries of what was accepted as a normal public narrative. AR has done this by initiating discourses on issues using strong language that was received at times as being disrespectful.

> *"It has become clear to us that the elites and their zombies have realized our intellectual fortitude, organizational and mobilizational abilities, clear perspective and the space we occupy in the hearts and souls of our people."*

> *"What has clearly emerged clear is that politicians have chosen the side of fellow elites, chosen the side of capitalists and property moguls."*

It is further noted from the results that the prominence of AR assertive statements was enhanced by their reporting tone. From the data gathered, it was observed that AR opted to utilise reporting in their press statements, reporting on either what they have done to address a specific issue or reporting on what they persistently refer to as "regime" has failed to do for the youth, as shown in the examples below.

> *"Given this horrific accident that has paralyzed the national youth agenda, there is, therefore, a need to formulate, adopt and popularize the new national youth agenda."* (AR)

> *"It is for this reason that from the 16-17 of June 2017, AR will be hosting a Generational Assembly to be attended by 1000 delegates representing youth from all 121 constituencies of the 14 regions, from 100 youth organizations and representatives of several offices involved in the youth sector to formulate and adopt the Resolutions constituting the National Youth Manifesto – a mobilizational tool for 100% implementation over the next 10 years."* (AR)

The assertiveness in the sentence construction of AR press statements is furthermore validated by the presence of a multitude of describing (16.9%), announcing (11.3%), and the least used is complaining (0%).

For PDMYL, it can be observed from the analysis of the results that equally, Assertives, as used by PDMYL, are dominated by stating and claiming. What can be of note in this instance is that in comparison to PDMYL, AR seems not to have placed any value in complaining, as the results show that none of the analysed sentences was deemed to fall in the category of complaints. In comparison to AR as shown in the graph below, PDMYL has recorded (3.7%) of complaints in their press analysed press statements.

> "*Not only does Shoprite see it fit to pay its workers peanuts, but it further subjects its workers to legal action for exercising their democratic right to engage in Demonstrations/Public gatherings as a form of expressing their dissatisfaction*" (PDMYL)
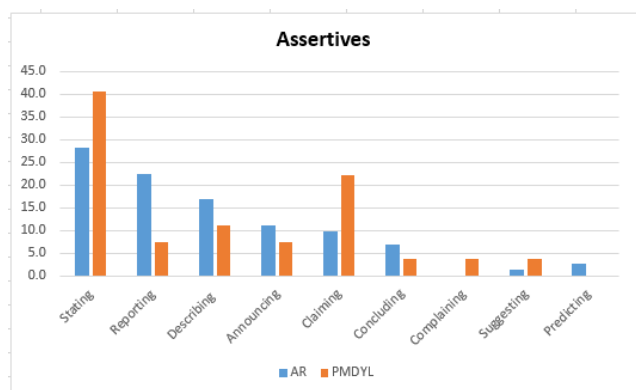
Figure 4 2 Graph showing Assertives

According to Ramanathan et al. (2020), speech acts are mostly made when speakers construct opinions that will be brought to the hearer with an intentional message, hoping that the hearer does exactly as told by the speaker. From the analysis of the AR press statements, it was found that directives that made up (3.6%) of the total analysed sample population were dominated by demanding (50%), pleading and requesting, each representing (25%). This showed that there was a considerate attempt by AR to demand certain actions or reactions from the government in so far as youth empowerment issues are concerned. It was further found that pleading and requesting were equally used in the AR writing, projecting AR as a reasonable movement when stating its case, as shown in the examples below;

"Be that as it may, we must take into Namibia a vision of a Namibian youth that will not relent, equivocate or compromise." (AR)

"Give this message and statement to all Namibian youth. Share it with your friends, families, girlfriends, boyfriends, husband, wife, and children; share it in your home, street, your village, at soccer practice, in the club, at your workplace and everywhere." (AR)

The Directives statements, when compared to that of PDMYL, the results show that demanding (23.1%), inviting (23.1%), pleading (15.4%) and ordering (15.4%) were the dominant constitutes of the PDMYL writing. What seems to stand out from these results is that PDMYL's writing was found to constitute questioning and appreciating statements, whereas AR had none of the two. This can be interpreted to mean that PDMYL whilst PDMYL was showing concerns about the issues concerning the youth, it showed its concerns through questioning the acts and, at the same time, appreciating what was or has been done, especially if what was done was in keeping with law and order.

"According to the Labour Force Survey 2008, the notion 'work' or to be 'employed' may be interpreted as 'work for at least one hour. This means that young people who worked even for an hour were considered to be employed or of employment" (PDMYL).
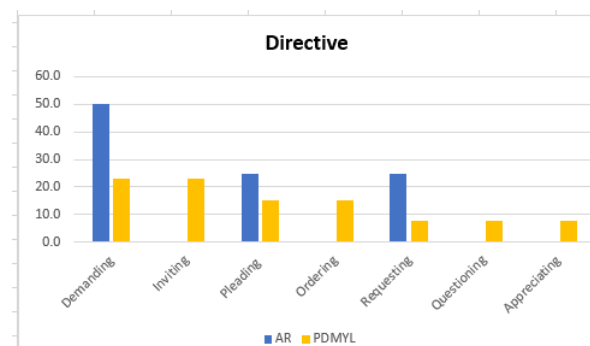
Figure 4 3 Graph showing Directive constitutes of PDMYL and AR

The third class of illocutionary act, Expressives**,** made up 6.3% of the sentence construction analysed. From the analysis, it was found that appreciating (28.6%), thanking (28.6.2%), and apologising and complaining each constituted 14.3%. From these results, it could be deduced that whereas AR is said to be a movement based on the Fanonian, Sankarian and Marxism ideologies, it was found to have extended quite a reasonable appreciation and thankful gestures in their press statements on youth empowerment issues. It should, however, be highlighted that this appreciation and thankfulness were mainly extended rather

to the youth themselves than in recognition of what the government has done in alleviating problems faced by the youth. To illustrate this, the following are examples of the appreciating and thanking statements extracted from AR press statements;

> *"We accomplished the mission through your assistance...." (AR)*

> *"We would like to salute the youth of Namibia, individuals' elders, companies and people of goodwill who stood on the corner of the Namibian youth over the past weekend." (AR)*

When compared to AR, PDMYL Expressives composition constitutes prominently of condoling (30%), appreciating (25%), complaining (23%) and thanking (22%). These results can be read to imply that PDMYL has been attempting to speak to the youth at an emotional level so that every youth out there feels that they have somewhere to belong. This is evident from the sizeable constitutes of condoling sentences that were found in the PDMYL press statements, for example, *"it was very sad and unacceptable to note that registration officials were required to use their own money to buy food, water and other necessities during the whole process"* (PDMYL). By thanking mainly the efforts of the government and individual youth initiatives, PDMYL not only places itself amid the community, but it also sends out the signal that it is a youthful wing that is in sync with the difficulties and harsh realities that the youth may be facing.

Other readings that can be made from these results relate to how PDMYL has utilised complaining in their writing. As an entity that speaks on behalf of the youthful electorates, it becomes inherent that whereas there is an appreciation tone towards the efforts made, the Namibian youth are not exempted from airing their complaints. For a political establishment to be relevant to its constituents, it must be able to transmit the views and feelings of the electorates without fear or favour. From the results as presented, PDMYL seems to have done just that, complaining on behalf of the people they represent, as the following examples indicate.

> *"Not only does Shoprite see it fit to pay its workers peanuts, but it further subjects its workers to legal action for exercising their democratic right to engage in Demonstrations/Public gatherings as a form of expressing their dissatisfaction"* (PDMYL)

Equally, on the side of AR, the results show that apologising and complaining were equally used. It is, however, to be noted that although these were not frequently coming out, on the occasions where what appeared to be an apology surfaced, it was somewhat done with a sarcastic tone, possibly to remove the seriousness of the said apology. This could be deduced to mean that AR did not want to be viewed as

weak and gave in to the political pressure from the government. As an illustration, below is an example from AR.

> *"We admit our naivety in believing that politicians would finally listen to supreme logic and side with the masses of renting people, especially the youth, to Implement rent control and escalating property prices."* (AR)
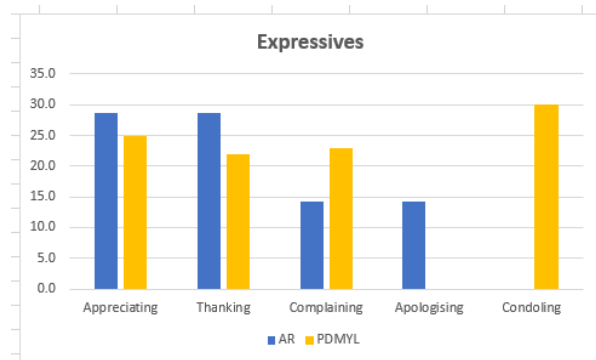
Figure 4 4 Graph showing Expressive constitutes of PDMYL and AR

Another type of illocutionary act, Commissives, which makes up almost a quarter (24.3%) of the illocutionary acts of results analysis shows that it comprises mainly of promises (70.8%), challenging (12.5%) sentences and the least used sentences constructions were those which were construed to be a warning and guaranteeing, with each representing 4.2%. As shown in the example below, AR is projecting itself to be standing with the segment of the population that it referred to as *"poor, helpless, surnameless and downtrodden",* as shown in these examples below;

> *"AR will continue standing on the side of the Poor, helpless, surnameless and the downtrodden masses of our people."* (AR)
> *"This week, it will emerge clear in terms of the practical steps towards Oshakati and Walvis Bay."* (AR)

Equally, the results analysis has also shown that AR has considerably used statements that exemplify guaranteeing to take specific steps and act on what it perceived to be unjust, and by so doing, AR can be said to be reaffirming its firm stance towards issues that affect youth in general. Furthermore, it was noted that AR has made use warnings in their press statements, and these were largely directed to the government and those deemed in direct opposition to their ideals. As illustrated in the examples below,

AR is guaranteeing to explore the judicial system in order to oblige the government to act and in the next example, this can be construed as a warning to those whom AR perceive to be in cahoots with the government and are wishing to silence AR as a movement.

> *"One of the immediate plans we have is to approach the judiciary to compel the government to abide by its own laws."* (AR)
>
> *"We must remain aware that there are forces of darkness that want this program to fail because they wanted 31 July 2015 to take place because they are trigger happy and wanted to apparently demonstrate and recall their experience of war of the 1970s."* (AR)

In comparison to AR press statements, the results have shown that PDMYL has substantially used challenging (50%), threatening (20%), warning (20%) and least promising (11%) statements. Expounding on these, the results have shown that PDMYL has greatly challenged the government to act on specific cases of injustice perpetuated against young people. Likewise, where there are laws that PDMYL feels are threatening the well-being of the youth, the results have shown that PDMYL has challenged the plausible limit of its power, those laws and their usefulness in society.

The same can be found in the analysed press statement that PDMYL has used legal threats, as shown in this example, *"accordingly, PDMYL will lay a charge at the Media Ombudsman, Mr John Nakuta against the management of the Namibia Press Agency (NAMPA) for the censorship and victimisation of young journalist, Edward Mumbuu on Monday, 03 August 2020"* (PDMYL)*,* to voice their dissatisfaction towards unfair conducts towards the youth or perpetuated against the efforts of the youth. This can be viewed that because PDMYL is an extension wing of the official opposition party, its liberal stance in the democratic arena allows it to explore legal routes when there is dissatisfaction. What is, however, worthy of note from these results is how minimal promises were made by PDMYL. The hesitancy towards making many promises can be attributed to several factors: perhaps because PDMYL is not an independent body that can make its promises that may be deemed outside the mother body, and perhaps because, as a youth league, its mandate may not necessarily be to make promises that they may not have the means to fulfil and hence end up putting mother body in disrepute.
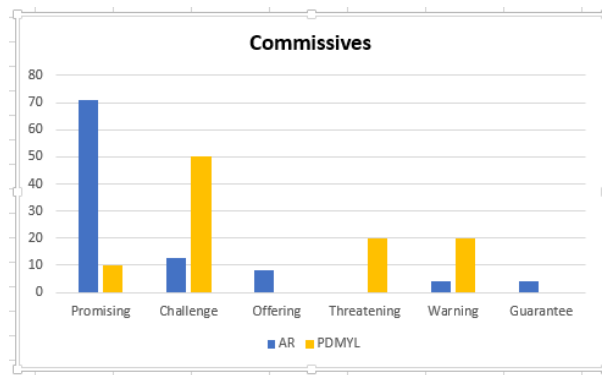
Figure 4 5 Graph showing Commissives constitutes of PDMYL and AR

4.2 Objective 2: How nominalisation and passivation are utilised in textual presentation

This presents the analysis results on how the two working concepts were utilised in the press statements by the two formations, AR and PDMYL. Within the context of this present study, the understanding within which the analysis was done is as presented by Mwiinga and Simwinga (2020, p. 78) that nominalisation is a distinct practice that can be used to indicate the methods "as things rather than actual happenings". Interestingly, Billig (2008, p. 69) has already posited the argument by the East Anglian group, which noted that "if speakers/writers used nominalization or passivisation, they can transform statements that identified agents of actions into agentless statements that convey less information". Hence, the result from the present analysis is a portrayal of how nominalisation and Passivisation were utilised and, by extension, what can be read from such linguistic usage. In this study, ten (10) press statements were analysed, five obtained from AR and PDMYL, respectively.

4.2.1 Nominalisation by PDMYL and AR

The results from this study show that PDMYL has used nominalisation (61.8%) in most instances than AR (57.7%). It was further observed that the tone of the statements used by PDMYL was not as strong and radicalised as that of AR, but rather, whilst it was a demanding tone, it left room for negotiation. As an illustration of the nominalisation, here is an example;

> *"PDMYL condemns the treatment of registration officials during this particular Supplementary registration of voters."* (PDMYL).

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From the above statement, it could be observed that PDMYL has used the nominalized "treat" as a verb to *"treatment"*, a noun, to add a sense of an unpleasant approach to how the officials were received. Using the word "*treatment"* in this instance not only implies that the duration of their unpleasant treatment was longer, but it also sends out a condemnation tone from PDMYL. Equally, the use of the word "treatment" somehow signals the non-caring approach from whoever was entrusted to handle and deal with these officials and, importantly, an outright signal that PDMYL was not a party to this "treatment".

Another exemplifying illustration of the nominalised form used by PDYL was found in one of the analysed press statement, and it reads as follow;

> "*It cannot be accepted that 31 years since the attainment of independence, Namibian citizens continue to be brutalized by foreign elements who have no regard for the rule of law, our labour laws and most importantly, our fundamental rights and freedoms as outlined in Chapter 3 of the Namibian Constitution*." (PDMYL)

As extrapolated from the above extract, by using "*attainment of independence*" instead of the verb "*attained"*, PDMYL is largely painting a picture of collective effort. In the first instance, it can be deduced that the *"attainment of independence"* was not an individualised effort that can be credited to an individual entity but to a collective effort from all. Rather than stating who brought about the process of the country's attainment of independence, the use of the word "*attainment"* somewhat buries the specifics about those who may feel entitled to have made Namibia as a country attain her independence. Instead, it is made to sound general and that it was the general populace, regardless of their political affiliations, as the very people who brought about the *"attainment of independence".* As Hassan (2018) noted that the use of activation, passivation and nominalisation are some of the linguistic techniques that can be made use of to show certain beliefs and philosophical stances. Further, into the analysis, the results showed the use of nominalisation by PDMYL, as can be found in their press statement when they complained about the "censorship and victimisation", as shown in the following example;

> "*The Popular Democratic Movement Youth League (PDMYL) will lay a complaint against the Namibia Press Agency (NAMPA) to the Media Ombudsman for the censorship and victimisation of young journalist Edward Mumbuu"* (PDMYL)

A closer analysis of this statement, deductions can be made that the two nouns, both derived from the verbs "censor" and "victimise", were nominalised as "*censorship and victimization"*. Taken as they are in the context where they are used, it could be seen that PDMYL in this particular instance has made the two words' context to sound general and that it is likely to be a habitual occurrence and that it was done to more than one journalist. By singling out this particular instance, PDMYL is projecting this to be the latest face of what it should not be when dealing with the press in the country. By using words such as *"censorship and victimization"*, PDMYL is positing this to be both against the person (journalist) and the process of distributing news in general.

4.2.2   Nominalisation use by AR

The results analysis of the press statements issued by AR shows that the frequency of using nominalisation by AR stands at 57.7%. This, compared to PDMYL, was to be expected as AR has by far demonstrated to be an establishment with a radical stance on issues when compared to PDMYL. As an illustration from the analysis of one of the statements, an example reads as follows;

"Such donations continue to pour in." (AR)

In this sentence, AR has opted to use the word "*donations",* nominalising the verb "donate". By using the nominalised noun *"donations",* AR was able to create impressions at two levels, namely, that these donations were in big numbers, which means they were received from various pools of individuals and entities. Other readings that can be made from using a nominalised would be that it prevented AR from indicating the type of donation and who donated as every contribution made was covered into one word, "*donation".*

Other instances from the subsequent press statements that have nominalised forms can be exemplified as follows;

> *"In view of the above; disappointment in that the 31 July 2015 did not take place and the path taken by the President, they have resolved to form secret plans to SABOTAGE the path towards 200 000 plots and the shelter for more than 1 000 000 Namibians."* (AR)

From the above sentence, it can be deduced that the word *"disappointment"* in this context implies that there is more than just one person or group. This can be interpreted to imply that AR is faced with the hurdle of dealing with people and entities working in cahoots to sabotage the combined efforts of bringing the land to the landless, as they refer to them.

The analysis further portrays how AR has carefully utilised nominalisation as a tool to draw the sympathy and attention of youthful followers. This was done by pairing emotive nominalised words next to each other to add weight to the appeal they attempted to create. The example to show is as follows;

*"Our sufferings and exploitation are to the benefits of *(name withheld) and politicians."* (AR)

A careful analysis of the above, it can be seen that AR was projecting the misery of the people and pairing that with the specified individual who is painted to be benefiting creates a sense of "us" and "them". In this case, it can be deduced that AR is with the people, as represented by "us", and the politicians are on the other side, as represented by "them". Thus, the use of the word "*sufferings"* as derived from the verb "suffer" and putting it next to *"exploitation"* as derived from the verb "exploit" simply amplify the distinction between the people and the "politicians".

Using such nominalised forms in these instances could be seen as a way to create the feeling of alienation and association. In doing so, AR is seen to be attempting to lure the sympathy and identity with which the youthful and landless electorates can identify. Word formation, or re-lexicalisation as it is called, can be in the same vein seen here from the word such as "*sufferings"*; that is, on the morphological value, it is used as a plural word to denote the continuous suffering of the people.

4.2.3   Passivisation

An analysis of the political texts, as in the present study, focused on the use of passivisation in the press statements. As has been noted by Billig (2008), the use of passivisation normally turns statements "that identified agents of actions into agentless statements that convey less information," and this is what is referred to as deleting agency approach.

4.2.4   PDMYL and passivisation

From the analysis of the PDMYL press statements, the results showed that PDMYL had used less passivisation (38.2%) as compared to AR (42.3%). It was noted from the analysis that whilst PDMYL has a liberal ideological stance as a political establishment, the way they phrase their stance on issues is such that they attempt to be as deliberate as possible. For instance, look at the following sentence;

> *"…due to the dehumanizing and traumatic manner in which this employee was treated, the PDMYL will be providing professional psychological services to her to lessen the emotional damage."* (PDMYL)

A closer look at the above statement, it could be seen that PDMYL has opted not to be specific about who was treating the employee in a traumatic manner. By leaving out this "agent / doer", PDMYL does not appear to be fuelling hate towards whoever was treating this employee in a traumatic manner. This is because rather than focusing on the "agent/doer", PDMYL has opted to focus on the action through passivisation.

In the subsequent press statements, it was noted that PDMYL had used passivation to paint a picture that other than themselves, someone else has to take the blame without necessarily mentioning whom. Let us look at the following example;

> *"It was very sad and unacceptable to note that registration officials were required to use their own money to buy food, water and other necessities."* (PDMYL)

It could be denoted from the above sentence that someone else other than PDMYL was responsible for this unacceptable behaviour. The question that has to be asked is who and, inevitably, why these officials were required to use their resources.

Going further into the analysed statements, examples of passivisation became more evident. When seen alongside the notion as advanced by Fowler et al. (as cited in Billig, 2008, p. 71), it was argued that "choosing noun phrases over verbs and the passive voice over active voice was often ideologically charged". Thus, the following example can be argued to be an illustration of such an ideological depiction;

> *"PDMYL worryingly notes that this is not the first time that NAMPA has been caught trying to censor journalists."* (PDMYL)

From the above example, PDMYL was not specific on who caught NAMPA "*trying to censor journalists*", whilst NAMPA is one of the entities tasked with distributing the news in Namibia. By leaving out this detail, the audience is left to make their interpretation of who might have "caught" NAMPA on similar untoward conduct.

Ideally, it would have been profitable and very informative to state whom, as this may allow people to either condemn or praise this specific individual or entity. However, it was left out, and similar questions could be asked about why it was left out and who benefits from these missing details.

4.2.5   AR and the use of Passivisation

The results analysis of the AR use of passivation indicates that the press statements under the present study contain 42.3% use of passivisation. As found in Söğüt (2018), the choice to use passivisation is not coincidental but, rather, in most instances, has an ideological rationale. From the analysis, a few examples can be extracted to illustrate how AR has employed passivisation.

> *"Following the announcement of the Massive Urban Land Servicing Program (MULSP), it was expected that all parties involved commit to the successful implementation of the MULSP"* (AR)

From the above example, it can be deduced that *"It*" represents the abstract subject. In this case, one could ask who "*expected"* all parties to commit to implementing MULSP. This is what Billig (2008) referred to when about removing agency from the sentence. Furthermore, it can be read that in this instance, AR has opted to remove the specific subject and generalise it to make it sounds as if it is all Namibians that had the expectations from "all parties involved", whilst it was only those who were in attendance or party to this agreement. Thus, by using passivisation, the expectation is apportioned to all who may be affected by this act and thereby making this sound like a general national truth.

As can further be seen from the analysis of the results, AR has equally used passivisation as a method of inclusion and exclusion. This implies that from the reading, one can sense a side that is being picked which translates into "us" and "them". The example below illustrate this notion;

> *"Few hours ago, we were alerted of a family that was EVICTED from their homestead yesterday at Ondukutu Village of the Oshana Region."* (AR)

From the above example, not only has AR intentionally left out who alerted them but also why they were informed about this eviction, who evicted the family and, importantly, why the family was evicted. By using passivisation, AR was able to compact a multitude of information into what seems to be a short and simple sentence. This is what political texts can manifest if carefully crafted. It was further observed that to draw the attention of the readers and electorates alike; AR has opted to capitalise the word "EVICTED" so that it comes off as a cruel act that is done in an inhumane way. Thus, by merely capitalising on this passivised word, the act of eviction is painted to make it look loud, hurried and scream harshness.

In other press statements, it was observed that AR had made use of passivisation to project itself at the fore and thereby inevitably foreground itself as the lead agency that is at the forefront of solving issues. The following example is an illustration of such a notion;

"Our letter to the Prime Minister was responded to by an assistant saying nothing." (AR)

From the example, as postulated above, it can be read that by starting with an inclusive (relative) pronoun, *"our,* AR is placing itself at the centre. It can further be noted here that this is an indication that a letter was written to the Prime Minister, who, as can be seen from this statement, gave it no regard it deserves, but rather according it, a reserved attention, thereby disregarding youth issues altogether, essentially. Thus, AR has opted to paint the attention that their letter was given as essentially non-existent; hence they are alleging that it was given to the assistant. Thus, by starting with the *"Prime Minister"* and placing *"the assistant"* who is said to have replied to the letter, AR is not only foregrounding the Prime Minister in this instance but equally placing her in the same line as "*the assistant".*

More often than not, as Kazemian and Hashemi (2014) argued, the use of passivisation in political texts is often utilised when the writer does not intend to apportion a particular responsibility and hence places direct accountability on a particular entity or individual.

4.3   Objective 3: Political rhetoric dominantly used to maintain narrative in the public domain

This objective was focused on how the two political formations use of political rhetoric to sustain a narrative that they deem relevant in the public domain. The results presented hereunder are extracted from the analysis of press statements issued to the public by both AR and PDMYL on various issues.

The relevance of a political establishment is substantially influenced by the type of language use that the politicians choose to utilise. One such strategy is rhetoric. As posited by Bonnefille (2011), the purpose of rhetoric is predominantly to persuade the listeners to accept a particular belief or stance. The results obtained from this study are represented in the following table;

Table 1 1: Table showing the frequency of rhetoric devices used

	AR	Frequency (%)	PDMYL	Frequency (%)
Evidence	6	6	7	10.6
Inclusive Language	11	11	4	6.06
Attacks / Criticism	26	26	17	25.7
Praises	27	27	10	15.15
Metaphors	7	7	0	0
Emotional appeal	7	7	5	7.5
Others:	16	16	23	34.8
	Total 100		66	

4.3.1 AR's use of different rhetorical strategies

From the results analysis, it was found that the most dominantly used rhetoric strategies include predominantly praises (27%), attacks and criticisms (26%) and inclusive language (11%). This was further found to be complemented by the fact that AR used emotional appeal to the readers (7%), the same way as it used general metaphors (7%) when stating its stance on issues regarding youth empowerment.

As an illustration of how AR has used praises as a rhetoric strategy, the following example can be extracted for illustration;

"There were also health professionals with First Aid kits who were assisting the youth" (AR)

The above is an example of praise, giving a specific tangible example of the type of people that were there to help the youth during the mass clearing of the promised land for the housing programme.

The results revealed that AR had used the combinations of attacks and criticisms, usually targeted to the programme's implementation or lack thereof, by the current administration. This is mainly done through

labelling using strong language that would normally not be ordinarily used in diplomacy. This can be exemplified by the following example;

> *"When Activist (name withheld) arrived at the village and the site, he discovered that the Poor FAMILY has been a Victim of Organised Crime and Elite machinations of business people who want to acquire land for businesses."* (AR)

In the above example, AR was found to have used words to show an absence of empathy from the side of those that are purported to be carrying out these injustices towards this family. The use of the words such as "…*Victim of Organised Crime and Elite machinations…"* would be interpreted to imply that those who are within proximity to power are utilising this proximity to suppress the poor. This not only stood out at the semantic level, but AR had added an aspect of orthography by capitalising the first letter of each of these words, just as an emphasis to show the level of disgust.

The above illustrations can be seen in view of what Amakali (2018) posited, that rhetoric is simply a skill of persuading another person's conviction into a certain perspective. Hence, the analysis of the results has further shown that AR has made use of emotional appeal through the use of emotive words that the audience can identify with and invoke emotional attachment to the subject at hand.

> *"AR will continue standing on the side of the Poor, helpless, surnameless and the downtrodden masses of our people"* (AR)

The above example depicts how AR's use of emotive adjectives appeals to the sense of being left alone with no one to turn to, positing AR as the plausible messiah for the "*Poor, helpless, surnameless and the downtrodden masses".*

Another exemplifying illustration of how AR places itself at the centre is the read in the following example;

> *"We will fight on for our generation; even if we lose the battles we will still pick ourselves up until we liberate ourselves from the tyranny of capitalism."* (AR)

By using the above, it can be interpreted to imply that AR is, in this instance, painting a situation wherein the masses would feel the sense of subjugation by the government. This not only fuels the sense of "us" and "them", but it invariably places AR as the suitable option.

4.3.2 PDM use of different rhetoric strategies

The PDMYL use of rhetoric strategies, as revealed by the analysed results, showed that PDMYL utilised more attacks and criticisms (25.7%) followed by praises (15.5%) and evidence (10.6%). The results equally showed that the least used strategy in terms of language use is metaphor (0%).

From the results, it came out clearly that PDMYL, as a youth wing for the official opposition (alternative) party, attacking and criticising the current administration on the programmes and how the government handles youth matters received the bulk of these attacks and criticisms from PDMYL. These criticisms did not equally spare entities owned or aligned with the sitting government, as shown in the following example;

> *"This means that young people who worked even for an hour were considered to be employed or of employment."* (PDMYL)

From the above example, PDMYL is criticising the definition of employment used by the government, noting that by using such an understanding of what constitutes employment, PDMYL believes that this will not yield any real statistics and hence will result in a detached impression of unemployment situation on the ground. The above criticisms are further validated by the following attacks on the same subject when PDMYL wrote;

> *"The statistics from 2008 to 2012 were not a true reflection of the youth unemployment rate because the decline in our argument was due to the change in definition, what it meant to be an unemployed youth then compared to today."* (PDMYL)

Hence, the above examples depict the use of attacks and criticisms by questioning the validity of adopted statistics by the state, which is utilised by PDMYL to highlight the issues concerning the youth and their plight in society.

It was further revealed by the analysis of the results that besides attacks and criticisms, PDMYL also had a reasonable amount of praise to share, both towards itself through self-glorification and towards the government efforts on youth matters.

The following example is a depiction of self-glorification;

> *"PDMYL has been active on the ground, ensuring that our young people are registered and that things at registration points were in order, in line with our oversight responsibilities."* (PDMYL)

From the above example, PDMYL is placing itself at the centre as the most credible, desirable and recognisable entity that has an important role in ensuring that the youthful potential voters are registered. It was equally observed that PDMYL had used the praises as a strategy to complement the government administration on the laudable deeds aimed at the youth, as illustrated in the following example:

> *"This is indeed an important democratic process that ensures that the masses of our people, specifically the young, are given an opportunity to register and participate in the imperative democratic process called elections."* (AR PDMYL)

The example above is one of the few instances where the PDMYL directly apportion the praises to other entities apart from itself, in this case, praising the process and system regarding voters' registration. Whilst this may appear somewhat uncommon, PDMYL praises mainly constituted of glorifying the entity itself as a youth wing than others.

Another notable rhetorical strategy is the absence of metaphorical expressions in their press statements. Instead of expressing its thoughts in figurative expressions, PDMYL was found to have opted to use direct language that did not require further interpretation. This could be attributed to the liberal tone that PDMYL uses as they try to be within the confines of diplomatic narratives.

4.4   Chapter Summary

In this chapter, the major findings and discussions of the results analysis of each of the three objectives that formed part of the study were presented. Firstly, the first objective dealt with the textual presentation in terms of illocutionary acts utilised in the press statements from AR and PDMYL. By analysing each sentence, the chapter presented the findings, which showed that with AR, most of the sentence construction falls within the illocutionary act type consisting of Assertives, Commissives and Expressives in the third place. In comparison, PDMYL results on the utilisation of illocutionary acts showed that its statements comprise Assertives, Directives and Commissives. The chapter further displayed the findings from the second objective, which dealt with using nominalisation and passivisation in the press statements. Under this objective, PDMYL was found to have used nominalisation in most instances than AR, and similarly, PDMYL has used less passivisation than AR.

Further, into this chapter, the findings from the third objective, which dealt with determining the dominantly used political rhetoric to sustain narrative in the public domain, were also presented. This chapter highlighted that the dominant rhetoric strategies used by AR include praises, attacks and criticisms and inclusive language. Other strategies included emotional appeal and general metaphors. As for PDMYL, the results showed that it utilised attacks and criticisms, and evidence.

Chapter 5

Conclusion and Recommendations

Introduction

This chapter is divided into two segments and presents the conclusion drawn from each objective and the recommendations propounded from this study.

5.1 Conclusion

5.1.1 Analyse the textual presentation of the two political formations

In analysing the results for this objective one, the researcher has utilised the Speech Act Theory. AR and PDMYL have, over the years, communicating with their constituents by issuing press statements to the public. As indicated by Hashim (2015), SAs, according to Austin (1962), are classified into three categories, namely: locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary acts. The focus of this analysis, however, was solely on the illocutionary act, which can be explained, as Ludwig and de Ruyter (2016) noted, referring to the speaker's intention when an utterance is made.

From the presented results, it was noted that the results analysis of the illocutionary acts used in the press statements by PDMYL showed that the majority of the PDMYL statements comprised Assertives (51.7%), followed by Directives (22.4%), with Commissives (15.5%) in the third place and the least used type of illocutionary act is the Declaratives (3.4%).

For PDMYL's statements to be dominantly Assertives (51.7%) is indicative that PDMYL states things as they are because this is one of the ways in which a youth wing can reach the youthful electorates. As a youth wing of an official opposition party in the country, PDMYL ought to point out the failures of the sitting government, especially those pertaining to youth empowerment issues.

Secondly, it was also observed that PDMYL had used Directives (22.4%) quite often in their press statements. According to the SAT, Directives are sentences that "Count as an attempt to bring about some effect through the action of the hearer, e.g. requesting, ordering, demanding, begging, etc." Akinwotu (2013, p. 45). Hence, the results have shown that PDMYL Directives are mostly under the categories of inviting and demanding. The use of Directives by PDMYL could be because PDMYL has used directing verbs such as "We encourage, we implore, we invite, we demand", which can be construed as a method to accommodate an option of discussions and engagements as ways of solving problems amicably.

As found in the study by Hashim (2015), it was found that John Kerry's speech predominantly used commissive speech acts because this is important for political candidates to tempt their supporters and direct them towards victory in the elections. In the present study, however, Commissives were found to be the third prominently used class of illocutionary acts by PDMYL. This could be because PDMYL does not generally project and obligate itself to some future action e.g.-promising, offering, swearing, etc., to do something (Akinwotu, 2013). This is because PDMYL is, by establishment, an organ of a mother body and it may not necessarily have the mandate to promise, offer and use radical tone at its own will, as it should conform to the mother body's principles and ethics.

On the other hand, it was also observed that AR has predominantly used Assertives (64%), Commissives (24%) and Expressives (6.3). The study revealed that just like PDMYL, AR Assertive statements are mostly stating, reporting and describing types.

Similar to PDMYL, AR is a youth movement that was primarily established to exert pressure on the government so that the government can, amongst other things, address the landlessness amongst the youth. For AR to resonate with the youth, it was observed from the results that AR has used statements that state, report and describe situations as they are. The choice of these illocutionary constructions can be construed to be similar to that of PDMYL, that is, to point out the issues by stating them, reporting on them and describing them in their press statements. The assertion from this could be that it is to create awareness on varying issues so that the youth is enlightened, and in so doing, both AR and PDMYL would hope to gain more youthful followers in the process.

Other readings from AR illocution textual presentations show that the second most prominently used illocutionary act by AR is Commissives. As shown above, Commissives relate to the futuristic obligation between the illocutor and the hearer, as per the SAT. Hence, given that Commissives include sentences that are promising, offering, swearing, threatening, warning, challenging etc. shows firstly that AR is an independent movement that operates only within its code of principles. Secondly, by using Commissives, there is an inherent impression that, sometime in the future, AR will have authority. Added to that, this could be construed to mean that with authority, AR will be able to change that which it sees as not beneficial to the youth that it represents.

Furthermore, the analysis of the results has shown that AR used apologies in their statements which were mainly underwritten with a sarcastic tone.

Thus, outside the illocutionary acts classes, the two establishments were found to have used glorification, condemnations and mocking (in the case of AR). Similarly, there was also an observed constant use of pronouns such as "us, their, we, them", which suggests the distance between the sitting government and the youth.

5.1.2 How nominalisation and passivation are utilised in the textual presentation

The analysis of AR and PDMYL's use of nominalisation and passivisation has shown that both AR and PDMYL have used nominalisation and passivisation in their press statements. PDMYL have used nominalisation (61.8%) more often than AR (57.7%). Kazemian and Hashemi (2014) have argued that the use of normalisation in a political language is convenient as it allows politicians to lump a substantial amount of information into one word; hence, it has been extensively exploited technique in the news, scientific and political dialogues.

The results have shown that both AR and PDMYL have preferred to use a nominalised language as this allows for a rather generalised interpretation from the hearer and hence deflects the direct responsibility and accountability from the illocutor.

When seen in view of the three metafunctions of the Systematic Functional Language theory as propounded by Mark Halliday, this exemplifies what the interpersonal, ideational and textual metafunctions of the language entail. The phrase *"distribution of land,"* for instance, is such a bloated promise that it may include the identification of potential beneficiaries, allocation and actual building of homes for those in need. Again, it is this idea that is being created in people's minds simply by using a nominalised word. The experience of the youth relates to these processes; hence they are able to relate and, for the most part, trust what has been written by these political representatives. By simply using a nominalised word *"distribution,"* PDMYL has added a personified aspect to the process, and as such, the hearer, in this case, the youth constituents, knows their roles and what is to be expected in so far as land distribution is concerned.

One of the metafunctions of the language is textual. In the dictates of this textual metafunctions, it deals with how the text is organised and how the speaker creates the meaning. Thus, when AR states *"the challenges in the fight against corruption"*, the hearer, in this case, the readers, will create their own meaning based on their experience of what they know about *corruption*.

In the opinion of Kazemian and Hashemi (2014), passivisation is often utilised and exploited in political language as it allows the writer or speaker to state information generally without placing a direct responsibility and accountability on a specific entity or individual. What the analysis of the results has thus far shown is that AR (42.3%) has used more passivisation when compared to PDMYL (38.2%). Passivisation, according to Billig (2008), denotes the ability of writers or speakers to change statements that may have identifiable "agents of actions into agentless statements that convey less information" (p. 69).

Similarly, although the use of passivisation by PDMYL is slightly fewer than that of AR, the readings that can be extrapolated is similar and agrees with the thought shared by Söğüt (2018), who argued that the choice to use passivisation is not coincidental, but rather in most instances, has an ideological rationale. It was noted that both PDMYL and AR had passivised their writing to avail an opportunity for the audience to make their conclusion regarding what was being written about.

It was also noted that leaving the subject has enabled some of the situations covered in the press statements to appear as if they represented the views of all Namibians, although these were simply the views of either AR or PDMYL.

5.1.3 Political rhetoric dominantly used to maintain narrative in the public domain.

As propounded by Aristotle, the idea of rhetoric is rooted in the intention of persuasion Amakali (2016). In this study, both AR and PDMYL have intentionally expressed their positions on matters so that invariably, the youthful electorates would identify themselves with either of these establishments.

From the results as presented in the previous chapter (Chapter 4) different interpretations can be read and made. In comparison to AR, PDMYL presented more evidence-based rhetoric.

This was done by citing specific incidences in their statements, and by so doing, PDMYL was conforming to the principle of logos (logic). Murthy and Gosal (2016) have noted that the soundness of the information that one presents so that it appears as reliable and should ideally be evidenced by provided data, accessible proof and other reliable realities so that people can deduce that what was presented is logical (logos).

It was further noted that both PDMYL and AR utilized attacks and criticisms equally to press, attack and criticize the current administration for the unfulfilled mistreatment of youth by those entrusted with power and, at times, exclusion of youth agenda items from the mainstream programmes.

Insofar as the general use of figurative language is concerned, AR was found to be somewhat fond of utilizing metaphors, a strategy that PDMYL hardly made use of. This, in the researcher's view, was because metaphors allow space for a wider interpretation of what was said and allow for extreme and radicalised stances on issues. To get the attention of the youth and indirectly compel the youth to align with them, both AR and PDMYL made use of repetitive phrases, moderate appeal and labelling of situations.

The use of a moderate stance and diplomatic language can be attributed to the ideological stance of each of these two formations. Mirallas and Ríus (2012), in their submission, have highlighted that when language is seen from an SFL point of view, we can recognize "how speakers express meaning through the exploitation of linguistic resources and how these are motivated by contextual factors" (para. 6). Thus, PDMYL, being a youth wing of a liberal political party is somewhat bound to have such a moderate stance, and this is reflected in how they use the language. On the other hand, AR, being of radical Fanonian, Sankarian and Marxism ideologies, their stance is predominantly of provocative nature and of military tone that is rooted in the utilization of strong adjectives.

Furthermore, Murthy and Gosal (2016), explaining the principle of Pathos in Aristotle's rhetoric theory, expanded that this principle points to the "speaker's appeal to his audience's sense of emotions and their interests" (p. 72). With the use of adjectives such as *poor, helpless, surnameless and the downtrodden,* AR was attempting to reach and appeal to the emotions of the people, the majority of whom have no land and therefore no houses.

5.2 Recommendations for AR and PDMYL

This part consists of overall recommendations from the major findings on each objective and specific recommendations for further studies.

5.2.1 Textual presentation of the two political formations

The mother body of the PDMYL is generally referred to as an opposition party, hence, the general expectation is for it to oppose and criticise the sitting government. Thus, PDMYL, as a youth wing keeping with the changing times, is recommended to utilise fewer condemnations and build on crediting by praising the good deeds.

5.2.2 The use of nominalisation and passivation may be utilised by the two formations.

Given that about 60% of the Namibian population comprises youth, it would be plausible to recommend that both PDMYL and AR make less use of nominalised and passivised forms so that they are direct at what they are communicating to the youth to break the norm of nominalised and passive promises to the electorates.

5.2.3 How political rhetoric may be utilised to maintain narrative in the public domain

PDMYL and AR to make a deliberate effort to utilise contemporary re-lexicalised terminologies that are in sync with the youth comprehension rather than continuously utilise the formal version of the language that may not appeal to the youthful electorates.

5.3 Recommendations for further research

Based on the findings of this study, the researcher recommends that further research may be conducted in the following areas of interest;

5.3.1 A comparative Critical Discourse Analysis of speeches and press statements by liberation movements' statesmen and presidents in different economic blocks of Africa, namely Southern African Development Community, Economic Community of West African States etc, on how they address youth related matters.

5.3.2 Speech Acts with a special focus on illocutionary acts in speeches of the presidents that were deemed to be exemplary in different parts of Africa.

5.4 Chapter Summary

The conclusion derived from the findings of the study of a comparative CDA of AR and PDMYL position papers on youth empowerment can be summed briefly as follows per objective. On the use of illocutionary Acts in press statements, it was shown that with the SAT, the chapter covered how the majority of the sentences constructions by AR fall within the illocutionary act type consisting of Assertives, Commissives Expressives. It was also noted that for PDMYL, most of the statements were Assertives, Directives and Commissives. When analysed further, Assertives were mainly stating, claiming and describing nature. It was also shown in this chapter that questioning and appreciating statements were used mainly by PDMYL, showing that PDMYL voiced its concerns through questioning the acts and, at the same time, appreciating what was or has been done, especially if what was done was in keeping with law and order.

As for AR's use of Assertives is indicative that AR's statements comprise stating and reporting. The chapter further showed that AR had utilised more stating Assertives illocutionary acts because, as a movement, their position papers are geared at stating specific issues that were not readily discussed in the public domain.

On how nominalisation and passivisation were used by AR and PDMYL, the chapter showed how PDMYL had utilised nominalised form than AR in their press statement. It was also shown in this chapter that statements used by PDMYL were not as radicalised but, instead, were characterised by the demanding tone that left room for negotiation, conforming to the ideological stand of the youth wing. Through nominalisation, it was noted in the chapter how this could lead to re-lexicalisation by using emotive and descriptive terminologies. Furthermore, create the feeling of alienation and association, and in doing so, AR is seen to be attempting to lure the sympathy and identity with which the youthful and landless electorates can identify.

With passivisation, the analysis showed that PDMYL had used less passivisation as compared to AR. This is because PDMYL's phrasing of their sentences is as descriptive and direct as possible. In comparison to AR, it has used more passivisation instances as a form of creating sides of inclusion and exclusion (othering) strategy. It was also shown that AR had used passivisation to subtly project itself as the lead agency at the forefront of solving issues. In conformity to the metafunctions as propounded in the SFL theory, it was demonstrated how the experiential and interpersonal metafunctions were conformed with, from how the readers could relate to the content of the press statements. Furthermore, it was equally

demonstrated how the use of passivisation by both AR and PDMYL enabled the two to avoid apportioning direct responsibility to specific individuals from their end in the promises they put forth.

This chapter finally demonstrated a brief account of AR's use of rhetoric strategies includes predominantly praises, attacks and criticisms, and inclusive language. It was also noted that AR's use of emotive terminologies to invoke emotional appeal in the readers conformed with their radical stance and ideologies. In fewer but notable instances, AR has used metaphors as analogies to depict and describe the government's actions, thereby minimizing their importance as a form of criticism.

Equally, PDMYL's use of rhetoric strategies as a form of maintaining narrative in the public domain includes attacks and criticisms, praises, and evidence. Unlike AR, PDMYL was found to have the least interest in utilising metaphors as a form of language tool.

The citing of specific evidence, both by AR and PDMYL, to depict conformity to laws or verified statistical information in the press statements when reacting to issues conforms to the logos principle of Aristotle's rhetoric theory. The use of emotive terminologies, predominantly by AR, to label situations so that they appeal to the emotions of the youth conforms with the pathos of Aristotle's rhetoric theory.

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7 Appendices

7.1 Data collection tool

Qualitative Content Analysis Checklist for Critical Discourse Analysis of AR and PDM Youth League Position Papers: List of Elements

		Meaning Unit (extract)	Interpretation
Rhetoric Types of devices identified questions, evidence, inclusive language, anecdote, attacks, praises, metaphor, emotional appeal			
Lexical elements	Nominalisation		
	passivation		
Speech act	Assertives		
	Directives		
	Expressives		
	Commissives		

(illocutionary: types identified)	Declarations		
Legitimation (Identify how text is legitimised, i.e., types of sources cited, statistics or text)			

8   ECA Letter

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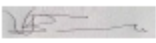
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Department:	COMMUNICATION

Title of research project: A comparative Critical Discourse Analysis of Affirmative Repositioning and Popular Democratic Movement Youth League position papers on youth empowerment
NUST students (indicate degree programme): Master of English and Applied Linguistics
Supervisor (Title, name, and surname):   Prof Rewai Makamani

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS	Yes	NS*	No	ACTION REQUIRED
1. Familiarity with Ethical codes of conduct				
As researcher, I have familiarised myself with the professional code(s) of ethics and guidelines for Ethically responsible research relevant to my field of study as specified in the list herewith attached, AND the policy for the assurance and promotion of Ethically accountable research at NUST	X			If YES: Continue with the checklist. If NS/NO: Researcher must do so before proceeding.
2. The proposed research: (Proceed with the whole of Section 2)				
a) Involves gathering information directly from human subjects (individuals or groups) (e.g., by means of questionnaires, interviews, observation of subjects or working with personal data)			X	If YES: Continue with the checklist. If NO: This checklist process does not apply to the proposed research, except if 2 (b) applies.
b) Involves gathering information directly from companies, corporations, organisations, NGOs, government departments etc. that is not available in the public domain			X	If YES: Continue with the checklist. If NO: This checklist process does not apply to the proposed research.

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DECLARATION BY RESEARCHER

I hereby declare that I will conduct my research in compliance with the professional code(s) of ethics and guidelines for Ethically responsible research relevant to my field of study as specified in the list herewith attached, and the 'Framework policy for the assurance and promotion of Ethically accountable research at the Namibia University of Science and Technology,' even if my research poses minimal or low Ethical risk.

VILHO MWENENI ENDJALA **Name of Researcher**	**Signature**	_04/04/2022_ **Date**

SUPERVISORS

Prof Rewai Makamani_ **Name of Supervisor (if applicable)**	**Signature**	_04/04/2022_ **Date**
Dr Max Mhene **Name of co-supervisor (if applicable)**	**Signature**	23/05/2022 **Date**

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9 Permission Letters

9.1 Permission letter from PDMYL

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25 AUGUST 2022

To whom it may concern

RE: PERMISSION LETTER TO CONDUCT RESEARCH RELATED TO YOUR STUDY PROGRAMME AT NUST

This is to indicate that Popular Democratic Movement Youth League (PDMYL) has granted permission to Mr. Vilho Mweneni ENDJALA, a student at the Namibia University of Science and Technology (Student Number: 220017921), to proceed with the research project, using statements issued from PDMYL into the public domain.

As related in his request, this forms part of the academic requisites for the completion of the Master of English and Applied Linguistics degree programme in which he is currently enrolled, and his research is titled "A comparative Critical Discourse Analysis of Affirmative Repositioning and Popular Democratic Movement Youth League position papers on youth empowerment".

Given that PDMYL supports education and learning in general, this permission is thus granted in conformity and subject to the PDMYL information and publicity policy, and that the issued statements are only used for academic related purposes. The final research project shall be subject to proofreading by PDMYL for final approval into the public domain.

Kind regards,

Yvette Araes, MP
Secretary-General
Cell: 081 201 6035
Email: pdmylinformation@gmail.com
 PDM Youth League
 @PDMYLNamibia

9.2 Permission letter from AR

AFFIRMATIVE REPOSITIONING

Towards Economic Freedom & Restoration of Human Dignity

+264 81 647 6079   arnamibia@gmail.com

P. O. Box 4619, Windhoek

16 August 2021

To whom it may concern,

RE: PERMISSION LETTER TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

Permission is hereby granted to Mr. Vilho Mweneni Endjala (student number: 220017921) from the Namibia University of Science and Technology (Nust) to conduct research project being undertaken as part of the Master of English and Applied Linguistic (MEAL) degree programme.

His thesis research is titled "A comparative Critical Discourse Analysis of Affirmative Repositioning and Popular Democratic Movement Youth League position papers on youth empowerment."

The permission is granted subject to the Affirmative Repositioning movement information communication and publicity policy.

Yours in Education
Atv. Simon Kanepolo Amunime
AR spokesperson
Arnamibia@gmail.com
+264813967094

AFFIRMATIVE REPOSITIONING
Towards Economic Freedom & Restoration of Human Dignity

2021 -08- 3 0

P.O. Box 4619, Windhoek, Namibia
Cell: +264 81 647 6079 - Email: arnamibia@gmail.com

9.3 Letter of request to conduct research

NAMIBIA UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

13 Jackson Kaujeua Street
Private Bag 13388
Windhoek
NAMIBIA

T: +264 61 207 2890
F: +264 61 209 9890
E: com@nust.na
W: www.nust.na

Faculty of Human Sciences

Department of Communication

12 August 2021

To whom it may concern,

RE: REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

I am writing to request your assistance in a research project being undertaken as part of the Master of English and Applied Linguistics (MEAL) degree programme by Vilho Mwenei Endjala (student number: 220017921). Mr. Endjala is one of our masters' students in the Department of Communication at the Namibia University of Science and Technology. His thesis research is titled *"A comparative Critical Discourse Analysis of Affirmative Repositioning and Popular Democratic Movement Youth League position papers on youth empowerment."* His supervisor is Prof Rewai Makamani. Because his study entails undertaking a critical discourse analysis of your organisations' position papers on youth empowerment, I would appreciate if you can grant him the permission to proceed with his fieldwork.

I must stress that the data collected will not publish personal information except where informed consent has been granted in line with NUST's research ethics and regulations. Furthermore, the findings will be strictly used for academic purposes only.

If you would like to discuss this issue further, please do not hesitate to email me on amare@nust.na or call me on 0612072763.

Your assistance on this matter will be greatly appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

Prof Admire Mare
Acting HoD: Communication
+264612072763
amare@nust.na

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9.4 Editor Attestation

Aishe Educational Management Consultancy.cc
Cell: 0812975992/0813941097
P O Box 3317, Ongwediva
educationaishe424@gmail.com

Reg: cc/2021/11193:
We specialize in educational consultancy to enhance academic achievement.

ATTESTATION FOR LANGUAGE EDITING

The undersigned hereby affirms that I have thoroughly proofread the research report of the aforementioned student and attest to its adherence to academic writing conventions:

Student number:220017921

Surname: **Endjala**

Given names: **Vilho Mweneni**

Title: **Mr**

Thesis title: **A COMPARATIVE CRITICAL DISCLOSURE OF AFFIRMATIVE REPOSITIONING AND POPULAR MOVEMENT YOUTH LEAGUE POSITION PAPERS ON YOUTH EMPOWERMENT**

The thesis underwent a process of professional editing. The research content and intended outcomes of the author remained largely unaltered throughout the editorial process.

Aishe Edu. Man.
Consultancy CC
Cell: +264 81 297 5992
Box 3317 Ongwediva

Yours faithfully

Mr Eliakim M. Fillemon

Master in English and Applied Linguistics

Bachelor of Education with Honours in English Language Teaching

Advanced Certificate in Education in English Language Teaching